

2001

Moravian Missions to the Delaware Indians, 1792-1812

Jessica Maul

College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd>



Part of the [History of Religion Commons](#), [Indigenous Studies Commons](#), and the [Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Maul, Jessica, "Moravian Missions to the Delaware Indians, 1792-1812" (2001). *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects*. Paper 1539626296.

<https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-h28p-jc21>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@wm.edu.

MORAVIAN MISSIONS TO THE DELAWARE INDIANS
1792-1812

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

by

Jessica Maul

2001

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of

The requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts



Author

Approved, May 2001



Mary Voigt



Kathleen Bragdon



Norman Barka

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
LIST OF FIGURES	v
ABSTRACT	vi
INTRODUCTION	2
CHAPTER I. PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT	18
CHAPTER II. SUBSISTENCE STRATEGIES	27
CHAPTER III. COMMUNITY RELATIONS	37
CHAPTER IV. SOCIAL NETWORKS	50
CHAPTER V. CONCLUSIONS	61
APPENDIX	68
BIBLIOGRAPHY	70

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to thank Professor Mary Voigt for her time and valued suggestions in the formation of this topic and thorough editing of the manuscript. The author also greatly appreciated the detailed reading and criticism of the thesis by Professors Kathleen Bragdon and Norman Barka.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Sample page from Mortimer Diary	5
2. Sample of journal data	6
3. Map of Moravian missions and settlements	11
4. Map of contact-period Delaware territory	12
5. Portrait of William Penn	13
6. Pennsylvania's Indian purchases, 1682-1737	14
7. Sketch of Gnadenhutten mission	22
8. Subsistence patterns for Goshen and Fairfield By season	35
9. Frequency of trade by season	42
10. Frequency of drunkenness and trade visitors By season	48
11. Types of trade by season	55

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to explore the development of a new culture of shared traditions between Native Americans and Moravian missionaries through a study of the elements of subsistence within the Moravian missions of Goshen and Fairfield.

The journals of two Moravian missionaries, David Zeisberger and Benjamin Mortimer, were studied to determine the types of subsistence employed within the context of the physical and social environment in Goshen, Ohio and Fairfield, Ontario, Canada. The daily life of the missions was closely examined for information about the formation of a different culture from two well-established traditions: the Moravian and the Delaware.

Personal accounts serve as the main support for the conclusions drawn from the study, while Delaware Indian archaeology and Moravian history provide the information necessary for comparison.

The results suggest that no clear difference in one of the most important aspects of daily life, subsistence, was evident between the Moravians and the Delaware on the missions. Furthermore, the two groups purposely formed this new culture, consisting of both Delaware and Moravian tradition, in an attempt to create an environment free from violence and discord.

MORAVIAN MISSIONS
TO THE DELAWARE INDIANS
1792-1812

INTRODUCTION

They had to arrive at some common conception of suitable ways of acting, a middle ground. The creation of the middle ground involved a process of mutual invention by both [groups].

Richard White, *The Middle Ground*

The missions at Goshen and Fairfield represent the new culture formed by the union between Delaware and Moravian lifeways. The co-existence of native and European traditions was far from the norm in the period of western expansion and Indian “relocation”. The willingness of Moravian missionaries to accept some Delaware culture and the eagerness of many Delaware to live under the rules of the mission makes the mission culture an anomaly in the history of European-Indian relations. This study provides insight into the unusual culture of the Moravian mission and the means by which these two groups were able to live together and flourish, particularly on the Thames River in Fairfield, Ontario, Canada.

The theoretical basis for this argument stems from the work done by Richard White in *The Middle Ground*. His study focuses on the relationship developed between the Algonquians and the French in the Great Lakes region during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The premise for his argument is the development of a “middle ground” structure between the two groups that allowed them to accept certain aspects of the other in their quest for economic and political

stability (White 1992:40).

Following White's theory, the Delaware existed as a "shattered" people in the early eighteenth century and became a part of the Moravian missions in an attempt to create a new world from these "shattered pieces." The Moravians also came from a world in which others viewed them as outcasts. This Delaware-Moravian union resulted in an "Indian-white" creation, in which both groups contributed cultural traditions, blurring the line between Moravian life and Delaware life. As White stated, "This ritual of the middle ground clearly drew elements from both cultures but fully corresponded to neither." (White 1992:93) The middle ground exists, not as another form of acculturation, but as a compromise in which both groups could maintain their identity while coming together as a community.

Four research questions, developed through this concept of middle ground and answered by the data available in the Moravian journals, stand as the focus of this study: (1) Were the missions "real" Christian communities or a mixture of Indian and European culture? (2) Did the demands of the physical environment take priority over Moravian ideals in the development of subsistence strategies? (3) What influence did native and settler contact have on the development of these communities? (4) Did the Moravians and Delaware come together as refugees from different lands to create a new life for themselves through the mission experience? The answers to these questions lie in the patterns identified in the daily accounts of mission life.

With a brief historical background, the "cultural baggage" of both native Delawares and immigrant Moravians becomes evident in light of certain events. These two groups, with all their traditions and experiences, formed the new

communities of the Moravian missions. Despite the title of these communities, they were not entirely immersed in Moravian culture. The results of this study suggest that the missions existed as a delicate balance between Delaware and Moravian culture as necessitated by the physical and social environments of each community.

The Moravian missionaries set out to provide a safe haven where the converted Delaware Indians could learn a Christian life and develop the skills necessary to succeed in this new lifestyle. These new skills consisted primarily of the means of subsistence technologies employed by the Moravians in their colonial town of Bethlehem. The focus on subsistence meant that many traditional skills of the Delaware would have to be abandoned. However, a study of two Moravian missions in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century frontier of the Northwest Territory shows communities physically organized according to Moravian traditions, but run according to necessity and mixed traditions. In addition, an analysis of three different cultures, the Late Woodland Delaware, the Moravian settlement at Bethlehem, and the Moravian missions to the Delaware provides clues into the development of subsistence strategies in changing physical and social environments.

Data Set

Missionary journals written by David Zeisberger at Fairfield, for the years 1792-1798, and Benjamin Mortimer at Goshen, for the years 1800-1812, serve as the data for this study. Figure 1 shows a sample page of the original Mortimer journal for Goshen. The data used for tables in the following chapters came from the daily accounts of the missionaries. Figure 2 shows a sample page of the database compiled

FIGURE 1

SAMPLE PAGE FROM MORTIMER DIARY

34 Goshen diary, Oct. 1803.
 thither in 10 days only, but on account of the
 windy weather, spent 20 days in returning.
 There had been much sickness in Fairfield,
 and so great was the scarcity of corn, that
 no bread could be had, there for provision
 for their journey.
 8th Early was the funeral of Rachel,
 the wife of William Henry, who entered into
 the joy of her Lord on the 6th. She
 was born somewhere near the bank of the
 Alleghany river, came to the cong. with her
 husband at Nettquoting, and was soon
 after baptized & admitted with him to the
 holy communion. They have lived together
 in the married state, as nearly as we can
 compute, about 17 years, & have had 12
 children, of whom three sons only are still
 alive, namely the born John, Charles and
 Christian Gottlieb Henry, at present residing
 here. She was a faithful and affectionate
 wife & mother, & was universally esteemed
 on account of her inoffensive, peaceable
 and obliging behaviour to every one. The
 most distinguishing features in her truly
 amiable character were, meekness & lowliness
 of heart, and that poverty of spirit which
 has

FIGURE 2

SAMPLE OF JOURNAL DATA

5 Winter	Subsistence	Agriculture		1806 everything is scarce in that part of the country, and here there is plenty
17 Spring	Subsistence	Agriculture		1806 this work for us, but no on account of their reduced number, we have to perform it ourselves.
63 Fall	Subsistence	Agriculture		1806 very busy week for white brethern and sisters
64 Fall	Subsistence	Agriculture		1806 we and our Indians were busily engaged in gathering of produce of our and their fields and gardens
65 Fall	Subsistence	Agriculture		1806 most of our brothers went on usual fall hunt
66 Fall	Subsistence	Agriculture		1806 hunters returned home for a few days
83 Spring	Subsistence	Agriculture		1807 provisions becoming scarce
85 Spring	Subsistence	Agriculture		1807 drought, very hard winter, and the wants of new settlers in every direction around us causing the problem of
86 Spring	Subsistence	Agriculture		1807 all the Indians assisted in planting our cornfield which had been previously ploughed by neighbors
89 Spring	Subsistence	Agriculture		1807 few Indians present planted their cornfields this month
93 Spring	Subsistence	Agriculture		1807 Muskingum overflowed its banks and destroyed all cornfields Season is too advanced to plant again
104 Fall	Subsistence	Agriculture		1807 Small animals ate almost all of the surviving crop. what we save was hardly ripe.
116 Spring	Subsistence	Agriculture	4-3	1809 brothers planting young fruit trees
118 Spring	Subsistence	Agriculture	4-11	1809 Indians started fires to improve the land. these fires threatened the buildings
120 Spring	Subsistence	Agriculture	5-18	1809 brothers planted cornfield for us
122 Spring	Subsistence	Agriculture	5-21	1809 rain put cornfields under water
124 Spring	Subsistence	Agriculture	6-23	1809 Indian brothers and sisters hoed our cornfield for us
134 Summer	Subsistence	Agriculture	9-20	1809 people returned and began drying and selling peaches
137 Fall	Subsistence	Agriculture	10-8	1809 brothers and sisters employed at plantations as they are blessed with an abundance of harvest
155 Spring	Subsistence	Agriculture	5-12	1810 our brothers and sisters planted our cornfield for us
171 Fall	Subsistence	Agriculture	10-22	1810 our indian brothers and sisters broke our corn off from the stalks and threw it into heaps for us
173 Fall	Subsistence	Agriculture	11-2	1810 Ska brought terrible news of crop failure from Sandusky
192 Summer	Subsistence	Agriculture	7-20	1811 indian brothers gathered wheat harvest which turned out well
211 Spring	Subsistence	Agriculture	5-24	1812 engaged in planting
250 Summer	Subsistence	Agriculture	9-19	1812 Haymaking in the meadows
268 Fall	Subsistence	Agriculture	10-13	1812 gathering corn - brothers and sisters wanted to stay out all night - we advised against it
1 Winter	Subsistence	Gathering		1806 we and our Indian brothers and sisters, being now fully engaged in sugar boiling, there was no meetig
2 Winter	Subsistence	Gathering		1806 there was no meeting , as our brothers and sisters had begun to boil sugar
3 Winter	Subsistence	Gathering		1806 camps
16 Spring	Subsistence	Gathering		1806 returned from sugar camps
61 Summer	Subsistence	Gathering		1806 nearly all the Indians went into the forest in search of Ginseng
62 Summer	Subsistence	Gathering		1806 Indians in search of Ginseng returned
74 Winter	Subsistence	Gathering		1807 most of our people went to the sugar camps
79 Winter	Subsistence	Gathering		1807 People at sugar camps
80 Winter	Subsistence	Gathering		1807 All Indians returned home from sugar camps
82 Spring	Subsistence	Gathering		1807 people still at sugar camps since weather is favorable, Sugarmaking ends with the absence of frost for 2-3 days
88 Spring	Subsistence	Gathering		1807 people in search of provisions
95 Spring	Subsistence	Gathering		1807 Some Indians who had been gathering returned home again
113 Winter	Subsistence	Gathering	2-27	1809 Brother and sisters moved to sugar camps
117 Spring	Subsistence	Gathering	4-10	1809 Sugar making over for the season
133 Summer	Subsistence	Gathering	9-11	1809 people digging for ginseng
147 Winter	Subsistence	Gathering	2-12	1810 discontinued
153 Spring	Subsistence	Gathering	4-8	1810 succeeding days people returned home from their sugar camps - season good for manufacture
154 Spring	Subsistence	Gathering	4-22	1810 during this week many indians were absent in search of ginseng

Source: Access Database. Goshen Journal Data

from the Fairfield journal. All quotations from the diaries reference the mission and the date, as Mortimer penned the ones from Goshen and Zeisberger the ones from Fairfield. The Moravian Archives, located in Bethlehem Pennsylvania, houses all the missionary journals within the collection of Moravian Mission Records.

A comparison of the journals left by the missionaries at these Moravian missions, one in Fairfield, Ontario, Canada and one in Goshen, Ohio, further shows the influence of environment and social interactions on the development of a community structure despite the efforts of the Moravian Church to enforce certain ideals. This study of the Moravian missions looks at the subsistence patterns, physical environments, social interactions, and community rules and regulations as reported by the missionaries themselves in their journals. These accounts are then compared to archaeological evidence pertaining to the Late Woodland subsistence patterns, physical environments, and social interactions of the Delaware Indians as reported in several secondary sources on the Late Woodland and contact period Delaware (Custer 1996, Wallace 1993, Penn 1970, Weslager 1973). Without this comparison, statements regarding the influence of Delaware culture on mission life would be impossible to support.

The Prehistoric Cultures of Eastern Pennsylvania by Jay F. Custer and *Indians of Pennsylvania* by Wallace along with some supporting articles furnished information pertaining to Delaware Indian lifestyle prior to European contact. As seen in these two sources, archaeological evidence and contact period documents serve as the basis for all information about this time period. The use of secondary sources allows for comparisons between the mission way of life and the traditional

Delaware culture. Together, these two forms of data show the influence that converted Indians had on the formation of mission culture. Because ideology would be hard to identify in documents written by only one side of the culture contact process (the journals) subsistence strategies provide a more balanced data set regarding the worldview of mission inhabitants.

Historical Background

MORAVIAN

Within a 163-year period, the Moravians started a total of 32 missions in what are today, Pennsylvania, southern New York, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Ontario, Canada. As the native Delaware populations were pushed westward by expansion, the missions closed and reopened at locations granted by the colonial, and later the federal, government. By the late nineteenth century, the missionaries would see their converts all the way to the reservations in Oklahoma and Kansas. The last remaining mission community, however, would not close until 1903, as it was located in Canada and not subjected to the same expansionist movement as the United States missions.

The Moravian Mission Records consist largely of journals written by the head missionary at the respective missions. David Zeisberger, the most famous of Moravian missionaries, penned the Fairfield journals from 1792 until he left for Goshen in 1798. Benjamin Mortimer, first an assistant to David Zeisberger and then the head missionary, wrote the Goshen journals from 1798 until his departure in 1812. The two men worked closely together and took 32 Delaware converts from

Fairfield to start the Goshen mission, making the relationship between the two missions ideal for comparison. These diaries serve as the central focus of this study; however, additional sources provide the means by which the missionary's account can be analyzed and compared.

The Moravians acquired the land for Goshen and Fairfield through a series of land grants issued by the colonial and later federal government and purchases made by wealthy Moravians in Bethlehem. As the traditional Delaware groups retreated west, the old missions closed and obtained land in the new Delaware territories. The missionaries and converts worked closely with the surrounding tribes, not only to convert but also to aid them in times of economic and political turmoil (Olmstead 1991:109).

David Zeisberger, the pioneer of the wilderness missions, began his mission work at the age of 17, training in the first missions of Eastern Pennsylvania. He quickly mastered the Delaware language and would later write the first Delaware dictionary, Bible, and hymns. Zeisberger spent his entire life starting new missions for the Delaware, ending with the Goshen mission where he died in 1809. His Fairfield diary focuses heavily on the spiritual life of the converts, but also tells a great deal about the ecological and social aspects of this very successful mission.

Benjamin Mortimer, assistant to David Zeisberger, began his mission work in 1798, by meeting Zeisberger in Fairfield. He aided in the move to and set up of the Goshen mission and later ran the mission after Zeisberger's death. He also spent most of his life on the Delaware missions providing guidance to the converts. One of his greatest contributions is the set of journals he left behind for the Goshen mission.

They are all in English and extremely detailed, representing one of the greatest sources of information about the daily life of the mission.

Both men were deeply rooted in the Moravian Church, born out of the Reformation of the fifteenth century, especially the teachings of John Huss. Persecuted, these followers found refuge in Saxony under the protection of Count Zinzendorf. A community of Moravians flourished in Herrnhut, Saxony and sent out a group of zealous missionaries to the shores of North America. A brief stay in Savannah, Georgia ended in failure to reach the Cherokee; this led to the founding of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, a town rich in Moravian history (Figure 3). Bethlehem's mission efforts among the Delaware proved fruitful and long lasting, giving the Moravians in Saxony their long awaited mission movement.

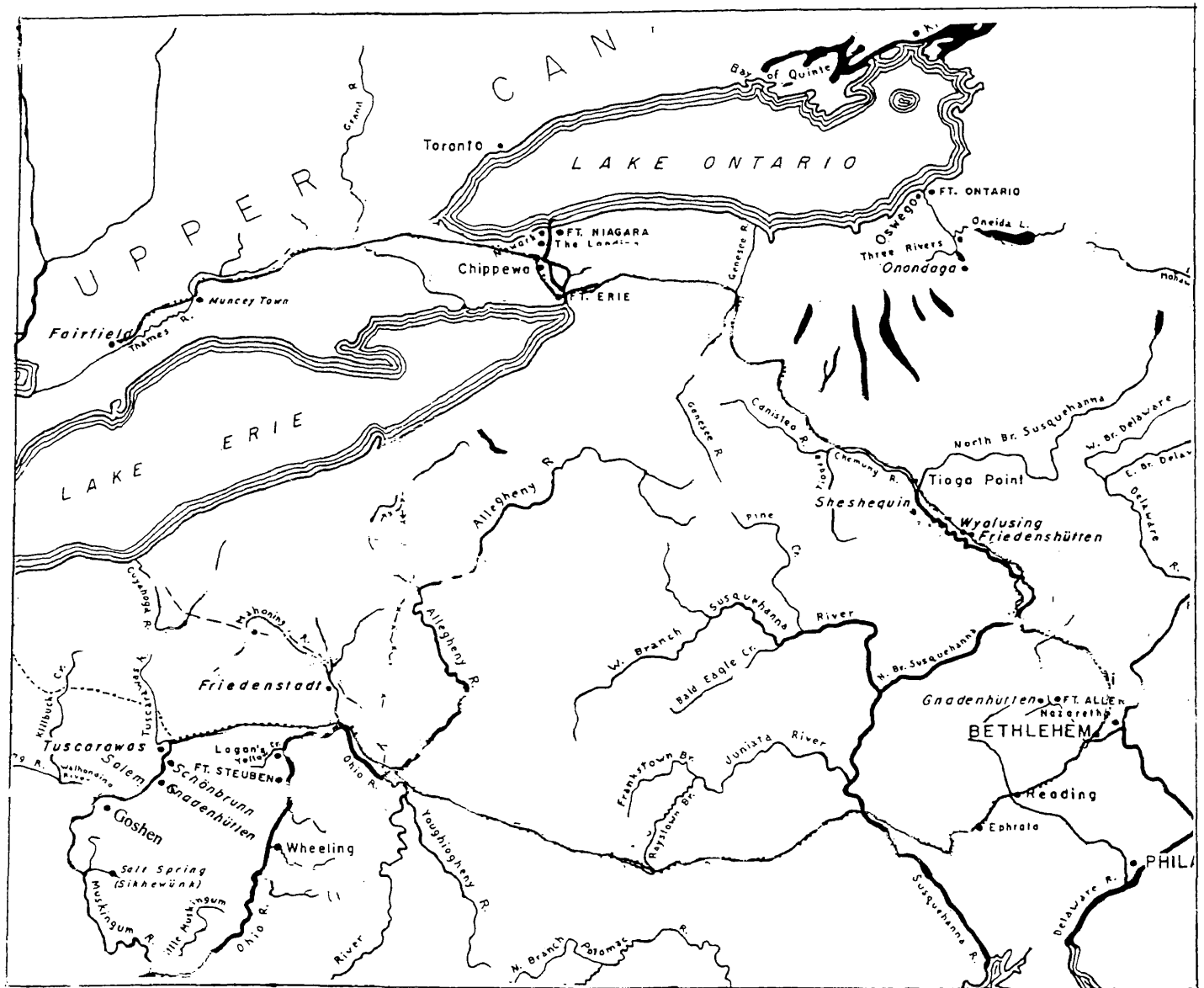
DELAWARE

The Delaware Indians, the central focus of this mission movement, resided along the shores of the Delaware River, in present-day Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and southern New York, prior to and during initial European contact (Figure 4). The Delaware met European visitors with peace and trust, unlike many of their neighbors. Initial land deals took place between the Lenape and William Penn (Figure 5), who had a policy of fairness and openness with the native inhabitants. These dealings reinforced the original trust of the Lenape and later contributed to their demise.

After Penn's death, his sons took over dealings with the Lenape. Not as honest and open as their father, these men arranged the Walking Purchase, which stripped the Lenape of the very land on which they so greatly depended. The

FIGURE 3

MAP OF MORAVIAN MISSIONS AND SETTLEMENTS



Source: Wallace, *Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder* map insert

FIGURE 4
MAP OF CONTACT-PERIOD DELAWARE TERRITORY



Source: Weslager, *The Delaware Indians: A History* p.38

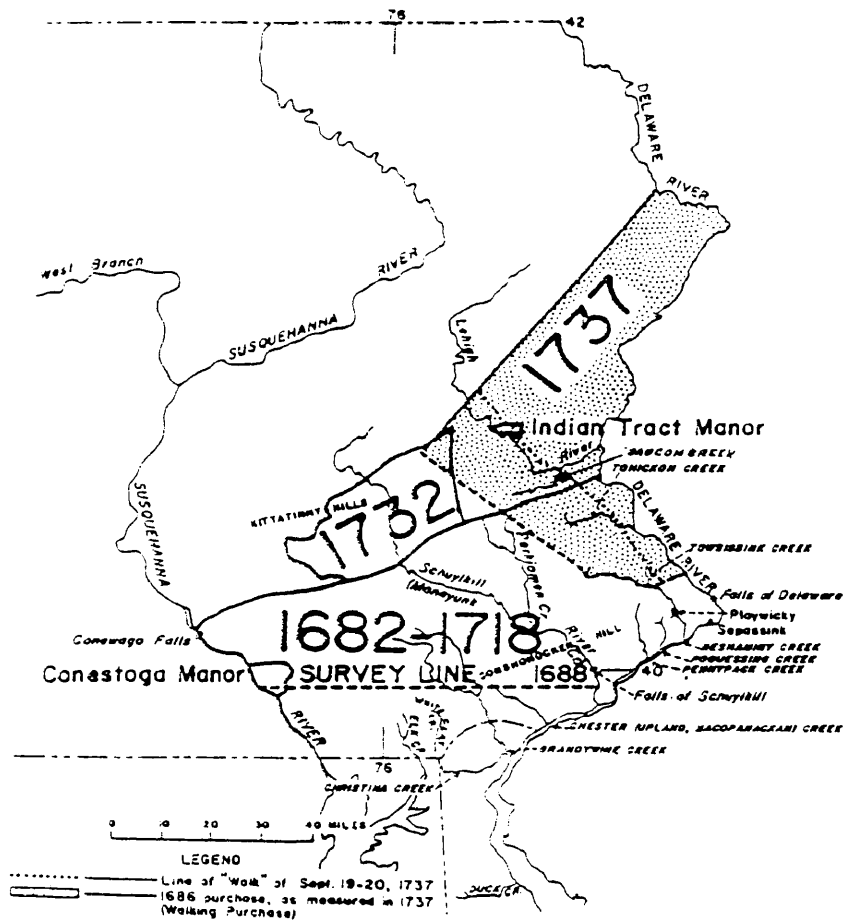
FIGURE 5
PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM PENN



Source: Penn, William Penn's Own Account of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians p. 12

FIGURE 6

PENNSYLVANIA'S INDIAN PURCHASES, 1682-1737



Source: Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania* p. 132

agreement was a trade of European goods for land as far as a man could walk in a day and a half. Being men of self-interest, the Penn brothers hired two of the fastest runners they could find and had them run for a day and a half, resulting in the loss of most of the Lenape territory. The Lenape were then forced onto a small parcel of their original land, inadequate for survival according to their traditional means of subsistence (Figure 6). In the end, they abandoned this “reservation” and moved westward.

The Moravians set up their first mission on the edge of this area of Lenape settlement. Disillusioned by the loss of their homeland, many Delaware turned to the Moravians as a source of comfort and information in a new and ever-changing social environment. Moravians called the new converts brothers and sisters and treated them accordingly. The initial missions provided the Delaware with a sense of stability and security during a period of uncertainty and confusion.

Organization of this thesis

Chapter 1 looks at the physical environment of the three different cultures, Delaware, Moravian, and mission through the archaeological evidence of the late prehistoric period and the documentary evidence of the historic period. Availability of resources within each area definitely influences the choice of subsistence strategy for each community. In addition, the weather patterns encountered by each group also played a role in the choices leading to survival. The archaeological record provides a great deal of information regarding the prehistoric physical environment of the Lenape, while the journals kept by the Bethlehem Moravians and the missionaries

give much detail about the availability of food and the hardships caused by the weather.

Chapter 2 explores the different subsistence strategies employed by the prehistoric Delaware, the Bethlehem Moravians, and the mission communities at Goshen and Fairfield. Patterns of subsistence are described and then compared to one another as stated above. Subsistence patterns are the very basis for human existence. Furthermore, differences in subsistence stem from the influences at work in each society, which allows the study to say something about major areas of influence, such as physical environment, community, and outside social contact.

Chapter 3 addresses the issue of community and social relations within the respective cultures. The interaction of community members defines the way in which the participants develop subsistence strategies. The dominance of one group over the other often gives that group more power in the decision-making process. Subsistence strategies, therefore, will reflect this relationship by showing continuity in one dominant group's traditions and ideas or shared traditions.

Chapter 4 discusses the interaction of the different communities with external social groups such as other natives and European settlers. The analysis of social relations reflects the different time periods and geographical areas in which each culture existed. Social environment effects subsistence strategies just as much as the physical environment, in that social interaction allow for vital trade networks found among most societies. Wars, expansion, and economic relations all influenced the way in which these three cultures developed their means of subsistence.

Finally, Chapter 5 furnishes the conclusions of the study by answering the

four basic research questions put forth in the beginning. The answers appear within the analysis, but the conclusion brings them all together and explains how they are all interconnected. In addition, the final chapter also suggests avenues for additional research in this area of study. The Moravian Mission Records exist as an enormous collection of information about mission life, as well as Delaware and Moravian culture. Subsistence strategy is only one aspect of the mission culture, and many other things can be learned from the records besides the issues addressed by this study.

The joint venture by the Delaware converts and Moravian missionaries created a new culture within the mission environment. Neither the Delaware nor the Moravian lifestyle appeared clearly through the mission window, as they were melded together as one. The resulting community interacted successfully with their environment and surrounding neighbors for several years. Success came through many compromises and the acknowledgement of the “other” as useful and cooperative. These two groups built the ultimate “middle ground” on which they could both stand confidently with little fear of erosion.

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The centers were the creations of desperate people who in seeking to create political and military security created ecological and economic instability. The predictability of the natural world became uncertain.

Richard White, *Middle Ground*

All human groups consciously change their environments to some extent...and the best measure of a culture's ecological stability may well be how successfully its environmental changes maintain its ability to reproduce itself.

William Cronon, *Changes in the Land*

Subsistence strategies cannot be understood without a discussion of the resources available to the Moravians and converts at the mission. A group can only utilize those items, which are obtainable within the restraints of their environment. The missions at Fairfield and Goshen existed within very similar landscapes as both were in close proximity to the Great Lakes region. Fairfield, however, being further north, experienced far colder weather and shorter growing seasons than Goshen. For the purpose of this study, the similarities in available resources provide the greatest potential for comparison.

William Cronon, in *Changes in the Land*, addresses the issue of physical environment as one in which humans change their environment to accommodate their own needs, while at the same time altering the very cycles that support life.

“Whereas the natural ecosystem tended toward a patch work of diverse communities arranged almost randomly on the landscape – its very continuity depending on that disorder – the human tendency was to systematize the patchwork and impose a more regular pattern on it.” (Cronon 1983:33) Europeans, in particular, imposed their concepts of land and land-use on Native Americans and the North American continent. The Moravians represent this European attitude in the way they sought to establish an agrarian community, thereby interrupting the “natural” cycles the Indians managed to maintain through their own land-use patterns.

The Moravian missions show a change in land use that allowed both groups to incorporate subsistence patterns of the other, but that also kept the environment in a constant state of instability. The environmental instability created a system of subsistence in which the mission’s inhabitants constantly worried about the availability of basic necessities. The development of social networks gave the missions stability when the physical environment could not. The problems caused by a mixture of different attitudes toward the land resolved themselves with a corresponding mixture of different ways to deal with those problems. This reciprocal relationship appears in the many times when the missionaries supplemented a bad crop by exchanging goods and labor for food.

The influences of the physical environment on mission subsistence strategies becomes evident when subsistence patterns and environmental cycles are viewed together. First, the landscape chosen by the missionaries and converts when they arrive at the new mission sites indicates the presupposed expectations for resources in that area. Furthermore, the description of available resources by the missionaries

provides an understanding of necessities in the wilderness areas of Canada and the United States. Finally, environmental factors such as weather, insects, animals, and the river habitat greatly interrupted the plans of the missionaries and forced changes in the subsistence strategies of the mission. Together, these three elements of the physical environment coupled with the accounts of subsistence allow for a correlation to be made between necessity and availability in an unfamiliar place.

The original settlement of Fairfield involved, according to Zeisberger, the missionaries choosing one place for habitation and the converts choosing a “better” location only days later.

7th May 1792 (Fairfield)

The brethren looked farther around for fields, and found, somewhat farther down the creek, a better and more suitable town-site, which, we visited, and found better, on account of the plantations, which we shall then have above and below us on both sides of the river, where we can be in the midst. We resolved, therefore, to move hither, though we have done much work at the first place, upon which we all turned our backs.

The “creek” that Zeisberger describes is the Thames River in Ontario, which provided a major travel route for the settlers as well as traders. The mission at Goshen was also settled along a heavily traveled waterway, the Muskingum River known today as the Tuscarawra River. The journal accounts indicate that a large river was the key element used in deciding where within the allotted territory the mission would lie. The missionaries suggest that the river was to provide the rich flood plains necessary for a flourishing agricultural base. Converts and missionaries, alike, brought with them the idea that rivers provided great resources, whether they are abundant wildlife or rich soil.

10th May 1792 (Fairfield)

The brothers were busy dividing the fields, for which these great bottoms are needed,

but it is such rich land as we have nowhere had, being like a dung-heap, and very easily cleared.

The organization of the missions followed a similar format at the 32 different Moravian locations. A “main street” ran parallel to a river or other major waterway on which most of the missions were built. Small houses with accompanying “plantations” lined this main street, each built by its owner. These missions were home to about thirty converts and one or two missionary families. The numbers varied throughout the year. The missionaries lived in a “permanent and secure log cabin,” built by the converts. (Olmstead 1991:108) The mission church, also constructed by the converts, consisted of large timbers, glass windows, and a bell. Figure 7 shows a map of Gnadenhutten, one of the most famous Ohio Moravian missions. Both the missions at Fairfield and Goshen were located in “virgin wilderness inhabited by small bands of native Indians.” (Olmstead 1991:109)

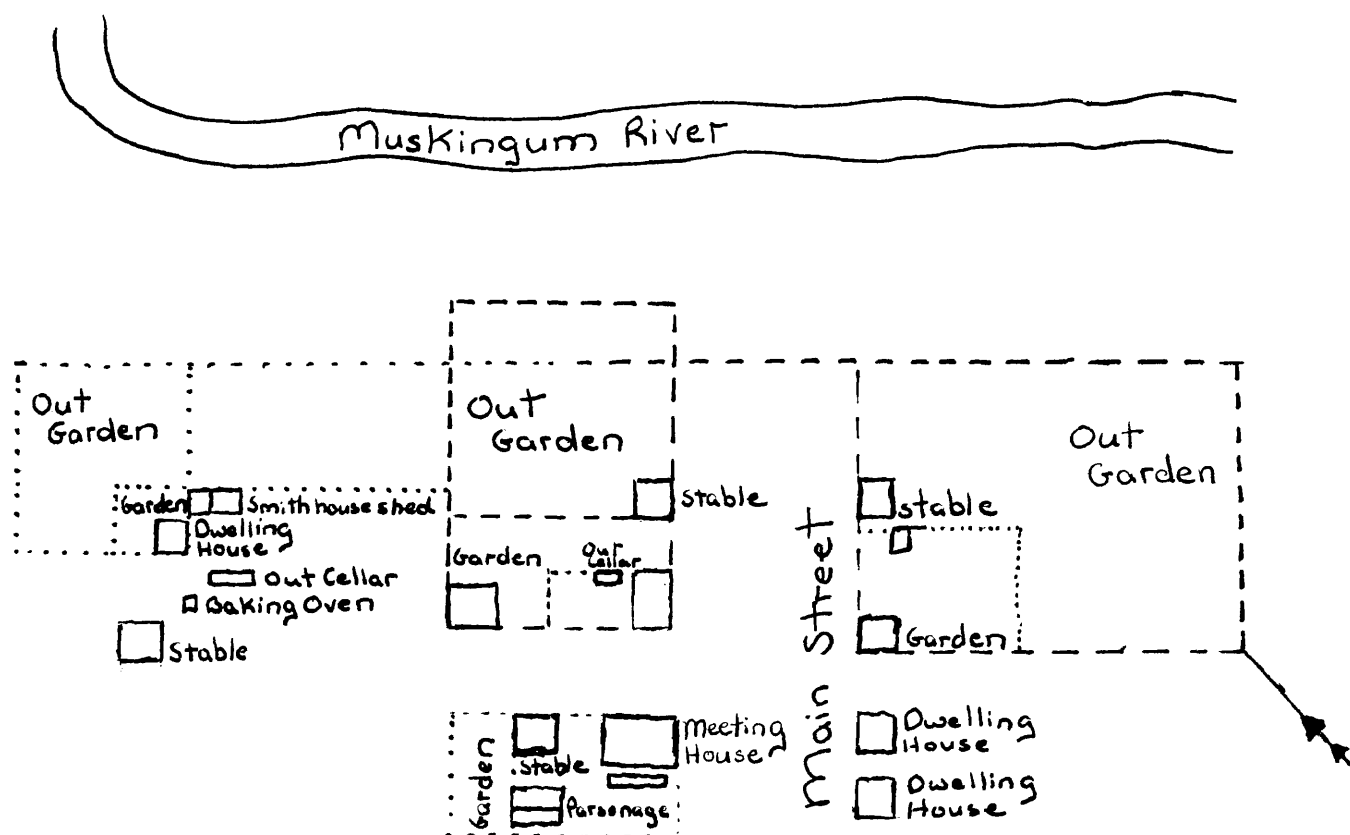
The availability of resources varied greatly throughout the year both at Fairfield and at Goshen. The crops were often unpredictable and a large number of alternative resources served as the economic base for the missions. When the converts first moved to Fairfield and planted their first crops, they used the corn that they had planted in Ohio. Zeisberger writes about the major problems encountered at their first harvest.

21st September 1792 (Fairfield)

For two nights, last night and to-night, we had hard frosts, which have much injured our corn, that was not all ripe. We made a mistake in planting corn from Pettquotting, when we should have planted that grown here, which ripens sooner.

Although neighboring communities contributed corn this first year, the converts had to hunt to provide enough food for the mission. Social networks as a means of

FIGURE 7
SKETCH OF GNADENHUTTEN MISSION



Source: Olmstead, *Blackcoats Among the Delaware* p.112

subsistence are addressed later.

Deer and bear appear to have been abundant at certain points in the year and scarce at other times. An analysis of Zeisbergers journal entries indicate that the converts hunted more at the beginning of their stay at Fairfield as there was a greater necessity for it. Necessity and availability both played a role in the degree to which hunting served the mission population from 1792-1798. Nevertheless, hunting saved the missionaries and converts from starvation on more than one occasion when the agricultural components of subsistence failed to provide adequate supply.

All accounts indicate that fish were abundant at both missions during the late spring (Zeisberger June 19, 1792; May 24, 1793; April 21, 1796; April 29, 1797). Only occasionally, however, did the converts utilize this natural resource of the rivers. Necessity, rather than availability, appears to have been the driving force behind fishing at the mission. The missionaries do not give any clues as to why fishing occurs so rarely, but accounts of hunting often show up around the time that fishing would have been plentiful. Fishing appears to have been utilized only when the food storage had been depleted and hunting was not very successful (Zeisberger April 29, 1797).

The availability of maple sap drove the mission community to dedicate all its time and energy to the process of sugar-making during February, March, and part of April (Mortimer Marxh 16, 1800). Although sugar did not directly satisfy the needs of the community through consumption, the sale of the granulated sugar provided the mission with another means of obtaining much needed supplies and food when the crops and wild game failed. Hundreds of pounds of sugar a year brought great

revenues to the mission and built economic standing with neighboring communities. Often, items could be purchased on credit with the knowledge that sugar would bring the money in mid-winter. Sugar was just one more way the missions could supplement their agriculture when times got rough.

Gathering of nuts and berries did not play as large a role in mission subsistence as hunting or sugar, but rather served the same purpose as fishing. Only female converts participated in collected nuts and berries and always appear as successful in the written accounts (Zeisberger August 19 and October 20, 1795). Items such as jam, cakes, and syrups came from this activity, while the missionaries were more reliant on meat, corn, and wheat. Nevertheless, gathering still took place on a yearly basis and the missionaries participated in the consumption of its products.

The unpredictability of the environment led to a revised plan for subsistence and a greater reliance on traditional Native American means of survival. The problems brought on by the environment are best seen through the accounts of agriculture at the missions. Flooding, early frosts, insects, and wild animals all contributed to decreased or failed agricultural production almost every year that both missions were in operation.

15th October 1795 (Fairfield)

There was severe wind, which began with a thunder-storm, and lasted the whole day. It unroofed houses, and in the fields much damaged the corn, and in the bush around the town made great devastation, yet no one was injured, though many of those on the plantations were near suffering.

18th October 1795 (Fairfield)

...And as it has been rainy the whole week, so that the river was unusually high, and the corn of several brethren was under water, they helped one another to save it, whereby all were busy who were able, and so they continued to the next day, for the water was all the time rising. Since we have been here we have never had so wet and stormy an autumn as the present.

10th October 1792 (Fairfield)

The brethren were busy at their harvest. Early frosts have injured our corn by freezing it.

29th May 1797 (Fairfield)

Inasmuch as the frosts lasted so long this year, and the corn which was already planted rotting in the ground, did not come up, all had to be planted over again, for it is an extraordinary late spring.

These influences on the missionaries' traditional methods of subsistence forced the reliance on the other available resources mentioned above.

29th April 1797 (Fairfield)

As the fish are now coming up the river in schools, the children and those older were busy catching a great quantity, so that through the week the whole town eat nothing but fish.

18th October 1797 (Fairfield)

The brothers went out for a couple of days' hunt in common to get meat for the harvest.

3rd July 1795 (Fairfield)

The Indian sisters have this week gone industriously for whortleberries.

19th August 1795 (Fairfield)

...And the sisters for whortleberries, which they dry and keep.

20th October 1795 (Fairfield)

There being many chestnuts, which the wind has lately shaken down, most of the sisters went out to gather them, bringing home great quantities of them, which are very useful in their house-keeping.

Although the missionaries strove to develop agrarian societies at Goshen and Fairfield, the necessity and availability of resources drove the development of a more balanced subsistence in which agriculture was surpassed by the vast amount of wild animals and plants available to the converts. However, the converts did invest a great deal of time and energy into the planting and harvesting of crops, corn in particular (Zeisberger May 28 and October 1, 1794). Such investment brought disappointing results in comparison to the traditional methods of hunting and gathering.

Nevertheless, the converts continued to follow the advice of the missionaries year

after year in hopes that the agricultural component would provide a greater amount of food.

Agriculture appears to have provided enough produce to enhance the economic life of the missions and keep the converts interested. All aspects of subsistence contributed to the economic success of the mission despite the influences from the physical environment. In fact, the blows dealt to the crops by the severe weather pushed the subsistence strategy of the mission in the direction it needed to go for the survival of all parties involved. The flexibility of the Moravian missionaries, along with the patience of the converts, produced a mission economy unlike any other. Only the willingness of both groups to communicate and cooperate made such a balanced economy possible in a wilderness frontier, that and the presence of both a native and settler population willing to develop social networks.

CHAPTER II

SUBSISTENCE STRATEGIES

...[t]hose who operated on the middle ground had, of necessity, to attempt to understand the world and the reasoning of others and to assimilate enough of that reasoning to put it to their own purposes.

Richard White, *The Middle Ground*

The subsistence patterns of the Moravian missions at Fairfield and Goshen represent the merging of two separate subsistence strategies: one employed by the Late Woodland Delaware people and that developed by colonial Moravians. A look at these two groups prior to mission settlement provides the evidence for such a mixture. Elements from both cultures appear strong in the subsistence strategies of the missions as seen in the daily mission journals. Furthermore, similarities in subsistence prior to contact may help to explain the subtle nature and ecological consequences of these compromises.

The Late Woodland Delaware, also known as the Lenni Lenape, inhabited eastern Pennsylvania and western New Jersey from about 8,000 BC until their removal by Europeans in the 1750s. The Late Woodland Period (AD 1000 - 1500) provides the evidence for Delaware life just prior to European contact and, therefore, best serves this study. Two separate groups or complexes, discovered through archaeological investigations, constitute the majority of Delaware living at the time of contact: the Minguannan and the Pahaquarra/Minisink (Custer 1996:286-94).

Although separated by geographical location, these two groups had similar settlement and subsistence patterns, so they represent the Late Woodland Delaware for comparison with the mission culture. Sites excavated in this area include Pemberton Family in Bucks County, Pennsylvania (Becker 1990), Salisbury Farm in Gloucester, New Jersey (Batchelor 1976), and Abbott Farm in Burlington, New Jersey (Cross 1956).

Early accounts and archaeological data show that hunting and fishing contributed to the food supply, though not as thoroughly or consistently as the agriculture and gathering (Grumet 1992:232). William Penn described the subsistence of the Delaware as “maize, or Indian corn, in diverse ways prepared: sometimes roasted in the ashes, sometimes, beaten and boiled with water, which they call homine; they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat: they have likewise several sorts of beans and peas that are good nourishment; and the woods and rivers are their larder. “ (Penn 1970: 27-28) White-tailed deer and bear appear as the most popular mammals in the Late Woodland diet, and freshwater shellfish, such as mussel and clam, as the most abundant fish. Fish, in fact, seem to have constituted a larger part of the diet than deer or bear (Custer 1996:295-6). The Delaware caught fish through netting, spearing and damming or any combination of these three methods. When spawning fish swam up the river in the spring, the Delaware would build V-shaped dams to block them and then spear them or shoot them with bow and arrow. Needless to say, fishing proved a very fruitful activity, although seasonal.

Accounts written by William Penn and other colonial inhabitants of Pennsylvania indicate that the contact period Delaware placed a high value on the

local community. (Wallace 1993:28) These tight-knit communities consisted of less than a dozen houses in areas with good water supply, good drainage, and warmth for the winter. Seasonal migrations made these villages extremely mobile and provided them with the environments necessary for survival. In the spring, they planted crops in small fields. June and July brought the deer hunting migrations, which ended with the harvest and the Green Corn Festival. The men returned to hunting deer, bear, fox, beaver, and raccoon from September through January. Sap from the sugar maple trees began to run in February, and the entire village participated in the processing of sugar, celebrated by the Sugar Maple Dance. (Wallace 1993:28)

The staple of the Delaware diet consisted of corn, beans, and squash. Fish, meat, fowl, and insects supplemented the staples. Potatoes, wild peas, chestnuts, hickory nuts, hazelnuts, wild grapes, plums, crab apples, cranberries, huckleberries, strawberries, blackberries, gooseberries, whortleberries, bilberries, and raspberries served as welcomed additions to the diet during the appropriate season. They made preserves from the cranberries and crab apples. (Wallace 1993:33)

Delaware women prepared corn in many different ways, as it was served often. Sometimes, the corn would just be boiled in the husk or parboiled, husk rubbed off, then boiled again. They also roasted, pounded, ground, kneaded, mixed, and chopped the corn. The women made it into flour, meal, bread, cakes, and pottage. The importance of this staple to the Delaware appears in several of their festivals and dances, where corn serves as the center of celebration (Wallace 1993:35).

In contrast to the Delaware, the colonial Moravians of Bethlehem,

Pennsylvania relied solely upon agriculture and animal husbandry for their subsistence. Domesticated crops and animals supplied the community with all the necessities of life, while the inhabitants provided the labor in exchange for bed, board, and clothing. A voluntary verbal agreement served as the basis for this “General Economy” for the first few decades (Gollin 1967:160). All members recognized land, food, and money as communal property, which they all produced and consumed.

The main crops of these Moravians were wheat and corn, which served as the staples of their diet. In addition, the cattle industry provided meat and dairy products, all processed by members of the community (Gollin 1967:162). Members produced clothing from flax and shoes from the cattle skins. All buildings, houses, tannery, sawmills, were built by community members who specialized in the building trades. The Moravian settlement at Bethlehem existed as a self-sufficient, communal economy until the 1760s.

The decline and final collapse of the General Economy in Bethlehem occurred as a result of increased commerce spurred on by surpluses in production (Gollin 1967:160). Bookkeepers, storekeepers, and secretaries began to emerge as professions necessary to keep the surpluses flowing out to willing buyers. Changes in the economic environment forced the Bethlehem Moravians to adapt to the secular world. These changes brought about “an increased sense of wealth and prosperity” and a feeling of resentment among those in the trade and commerce industry (Gollin 1967:199).

This readiness to adapt served as a template for those missionaries trained at

Bethlehem. The ability of Moravian missionaries to forgo certain cultural traditions in the name of progress certainly allowed the Delaware to have more say in the day to day activities of mission life. Certain elements of Moravian subsistence are definitely evident in the mission culture, but the greatest contribution appears to have been the willingness to adopt new methods and concepts of survival.

Mission subsistence patterns, at the center of this study, appear at first glance as a patchwork of traditions from different cultures with no clear explanation. By incorporating the preexisting ideas of subsistence from each group along with physical and social influences, a clear pattern of adaptation and assimilation emerges from the documents; but first, the precise system of mission subsistence must be understood.

The missions at Fairfield and Goshen subsisted on such a large variety of foods that it is difficult to pinpoint one major source of nourishment. Means of subsistence consisted of agriculture, horticulture, fishing, gathering, hunting, and trading, all used as needed during the year. For example, if the crops failed due to flooding or insects, the male converts, never the missionaries, went hunting or fishing, while the female converts gathered nuts and berries. If game was scarce and the corn supply had run out, converts would work for food by providing labor to neighboring establishments. Patterns, however, did exist within this system of survival as seen in the mission documents.

The missionaries focused the attention of the converts on agriculture from early May until late October every year (Zeisberger 1792-1798, Mortimer 1800-1812). Hundreds of acres of corn and wheat required the diligent labor of both the

men and women of the Delaware in the fields of the missionaries, the common plantations, and their own individual plantations. In addition, land was set aside for the harvesting of hay in late September and the care of cattle and pigs. Mills at neighboring settlements provided the means by which the converts were able to grind the wheat. All of this did not ensure the success of the crops.

As a supplement to the major crops, the missionaries had the converts engage in cultivation of individual gardens of fruits and vegetables like turnips, potatoes, pumpkins, and peaches during the summer months (Zeisberger July 16, 1796; Mortimer September 20, 1809). The yield from these gardens does not appear very significant in the overall subsistence of the mission. These gardens may have existed for the purpose of providing variety to the agricultural diet the missionaries sought to establish.

Fishing at the mission took place on a minimal basis between April and June and does not appear to be present every year, but rather only when other food resources were scarce. Very often the elderly and the youth of the mission would build dams and nets to capture the fish and then catch them, while the male converts were off hunting. Every account of fishing, though limited, indicates a great quantity of fish being caught (Zeisberger May 24, 1793; April 21, 1796; April 29, 1797). The missionaries did not participate in this activity as they sometimes did with the agriculture.

Gathering activities took place year-round as was needed to supplement the other forms of subsistence. One form of gathering, however, took place at the same time every year without fail and that was sugar-making. From February until April,

the missionaries sent the converts to their sugar camp to gather and process the maple sap. Many times, the converts would not even come home for Sunday services as the sap was flowing constantly for a month straight (Mortimer February 16, 1802).

Maple sugar production, a Native American invention, involved an intensive schedule lasting long hours and required all the converts to be gone from the mission for months at a time. Benjamin Mortimer, missionary for the Goshen mission, gives a detailed history of the process.

16th March 1800 (Goshen)

The manufacturing of sugar from the sugar maple tree, has been carried on from time immemorial by the Indians, though not anciently to the extent that it is now present, for the want of those utensils with which European art has now furnished them. When hatchets were unknown among them it must have been very difficult to make troughs to collect the sap of the trees. Without iron or brass kettles, they had to labor under much inconvenience in boiling it....

The present Indians never make sugar from the red or white maple tree, as the white people often do, but always from the sugar maple tree, which is seldom to be met with in abundance, except on the richest of land in the inland parts of this continent (Mortimer 1800).

Elma Gray, in *Wilderness Christians*, gives a clear description of the actual process of sugar making as employed by the converts.

Medium-sized maples were slashed two feet or so from the ground, on the southeast side, and slim bark funnels were inserted to conduct the sap to the troughs. When the almost overflowing vessels were emptied into large copper kettles, the women took over the task of slowly converting the thin liquid to the consistency of honey. With ever-increasing watchfulness they waited until the bubbling mass turned from amber to brown; then it was at once poured into broad wooden dishes to a depth of two inches and stirred with wooden spoons until cold. At this stage the crystallized sugar could be granulated, and it became as fine as the celebrated and costly West Indian variety (Gray 1956:105).

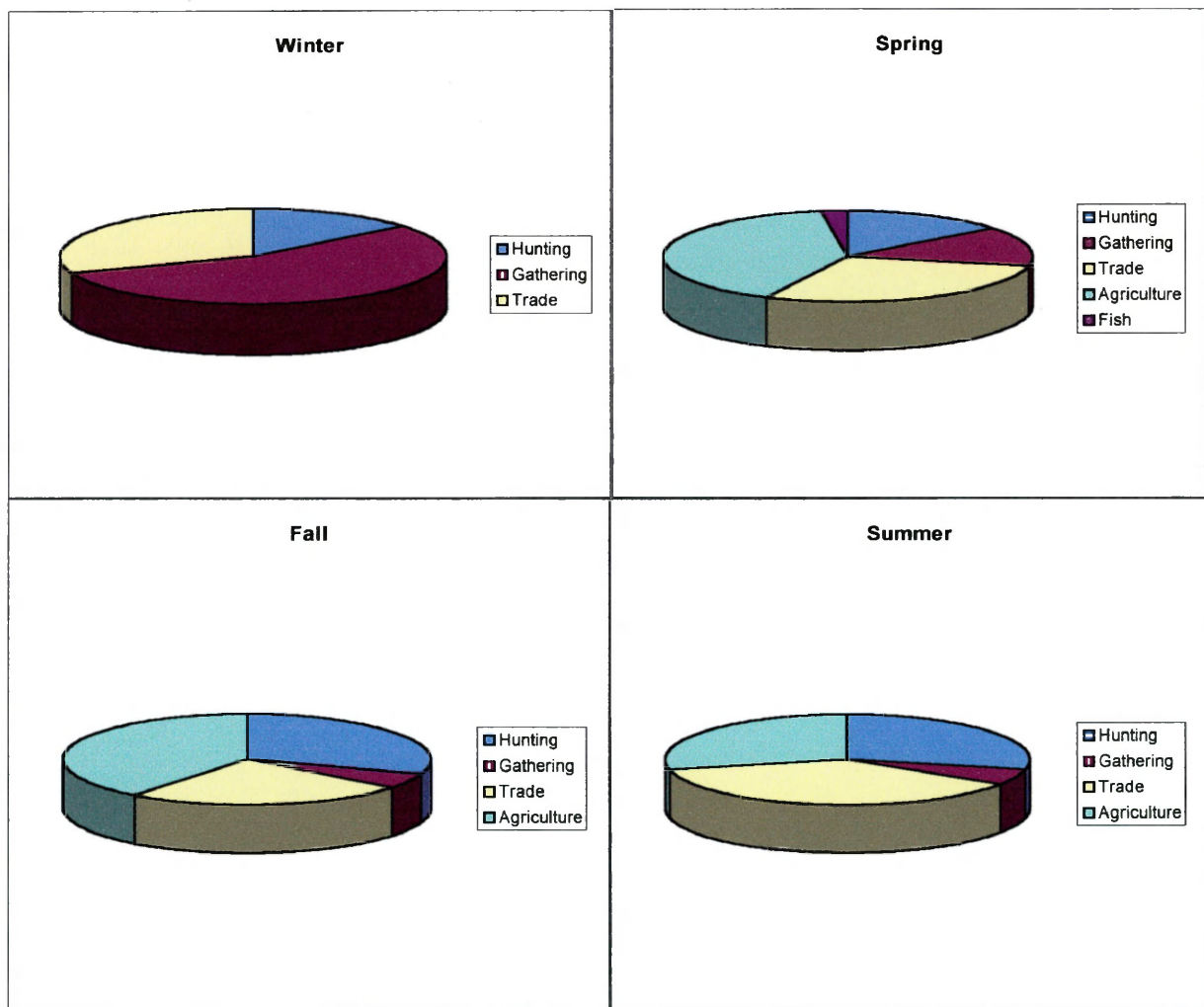
The first sap of the season was used to make syrup for the mission, while the rest of the sap was turned into sugar for trade. Hundreds of pounds of sugar a year provided the mission with trading opportunities, which supplemented the other means of subsistence.

Other gathering activities fell primarily to the female converts and included the collection of hickorynuts, chestnuts, whortleberries, and herbs such as ginseng. The women used the juice from the nuts to make cakes when milk was scarce. Jam came from the berries they collected and medicines from the herbs. Hickory and chestnuts were gathered in late fall as they fell from the trees, while whortleberries were gathered during July and August (Zeisberger July 3, 1795).

The male converts at Fairfield and Goshen hunted year-round as needed. Hunting required the permission of the missionaries, but this never appears as a problem, since the entire mission needed the food produced by the hunting expeditions. References made to “the autumn hunt” and “the winter hunts” indicate that traditional Native American cycles may have continued in the mission setting (Zeisberger November 18, 1794). An account of the converts building a “deer fence” in the meadow to trap the deer for easier hunting provides further evidence that elements of traditional Delaware subsistence existed within the mission system (Zeisberger July 21, 1795).

The final component of mission subsistence, trade, served to connect the mission with all its surrounding neighbors, native and settler. Trade existed on many levels and with a variety of people and groups. Converts often went to neighboring settlements to purchase corn or work for food. Some settlers came to the mission to exchange goods for corn and sugar. French traders also camped near the mission, particularly in the winter, and traded with converts for animal skins and sugar (Zeisberger April 1, 1796). The converts would also take their products, like sugar, baskets, and corn to the major cities for sale or trade (Mortimer September 28, 1810).

FIGURE 8
SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS FOR GOSHEN AND FAIRFIELD BY SEASON



Source: Compiled from Goshen and Fairfield Journal Data

They would often return with apples, flour, and metal parts for buildings or guns. Finally, visiting native groups often brought meat for trade with mission converts. During times when game and crops were scarce, these groups usually became more of a liability than an asset to the mission, as they would arrive empty-handed looking for handouts (Zeisberger December 28, 1797).

All of the elements of subsistence in mission life, although they appear scattered, existed in a pattern that worked for the missionaries and converts, alike. Figure 8 shows the seasonality of the different subsistence strategies as it appears in the missionary journals for Goshen and Fairfield. Spring and fall reflect a heavy concentration on planting and harvesting of the domestic crops. The data indicates a reliance on hunting and trade during the summer and winter months. Gathering, of course, took precedent in the winter months as sugar making would have been in full operation. The mission journals indicate a reliance on any means of subsistence that would provide food at a moment's notice. Long-term investments, like agriculture, were given precedence by the missionaries, but other factors brought about a need for many other methods of food production.

Physical environment, community relations, and external social relations all contributed to the decisions made by the missionaries and converts in the area of subsistence. Uncontrollable factors required the mission inhabitants to adapt to their new environment, both physical and social. These adaptations, in turn, changed their physical environment. The Moravians and converted Delaware started a cyclical relationship with the environment, which made their new culture even stronger.

CHAPTER III

COMMUNITY RELATIONS

On the middle ground diverse peoples adjust their differences through what amounts to a process of creative, and often expedient, misunderstandings.

Richard White, *The Middle Ground*

The relationship of the Moravian missionaries to the Delaware converts also played a large role in the development of a mission subsistence strategy on the frontier. Economically and socially, the two groups recognized certain rights and responsibilities toward one another through a set of written rules and unspoken expectations. Through mutual agreements, the missionaries and the converts were able to live peacefully and develop a successful subsistence strategy.

Economically, the converts were responsible for the food supply at the mission, while the missionaries helped to form social networks with outside parties. The converts planted and harvested their own individual fields, the common fields, and the missionaries' fields every year. In addition, all the hunting and sugar-making was done by the converts at appropriate times throughout the year. Finally, the actual act of trading fell to the converts as well, whether it was transporting the goods to major cities for sale or trading with the locals who came to the mission for business. In exchange for their labor, the converts received instruction and social connections

from the missionaries.

The social relationship between the converted Delaware and the Moravian missionaries existed on several levels. The Moravians called the converts their brethren, giving them a sense of equality and importance. On the other hand, the Moravians treated the Delaware as children to be disciplined and supervised. The converts, in return, often played the part of children by breaking the rules and depending upon the missionaries for instruction in every matter. Drunkenness served as the major vice for Delaware converts and appears to have been a response to unwelcome conditions. Nevertheless, the two groups developed an intricate culture around these social conditions and gave each other new perspectives on themselves and others.

The agricultural aspect of the mission economy provided the base for an unequal distribution of labor between the converts and the missionaries. All labor fell to the converts, both male and female, while the missionaries only instructed them on the methods of planting and harvesting and consumed the fruits of the labor. Certain traditional methods of horticulture did make their way into the planting and harvesting, but the missionaries sought to establish traditional European methods.

In addition to caring for their own crops, the converts were often forced to work the fields of neighboring white communities in exchange for food when their own crops failed or succumbed to the harsh environment. The corn received through these exchanges also went to feed the missionaries, even though they had not participated in the labor.

19th February 1793 (Fairfield)

Many of our people went to the settlement to earn food by work.

As previously mentioned, hunting, at first glance, appears as a supplemental means of subsistence in times of weak harvests. Upon closer analysis, however, hunting served as a way for the male converts to revert back to tradition and get away from the mission for up to a month at a time. The missionaries recognized this role of hunting and set up rules to restrict its use. Hunting was to be used only when necessary, a rule enforced by requiring the converts to ask permission before they went on a hunt. The reliance of the converts on hunting coupled with the missionaries' view of hunting as a vice makes the presence of hunting in the missionary journals of particular interest as it reflects community relations.

Most accounts regarding hunting mention the reason for and result of the hunt with some missionary comments on the problems created by such activities. The reasons for the hunt generally include lack of corn, need for food to sustain the converts during harvest, and seasonal habits, such as the autumn hunt, which appears to have taken place every year at both missions. The missionaries acknowledge their own consumption of the wild game from these hunts, and therefore, their own benefit from this native tradition.

10 October 1796 (Fairfield)

The brethren went out hunting, to get meat for our corn harvest.

5 November 1793 (Fairfield)

Yesterday and to-day nearly all our Indians went away hunting to get skins for shoes, for the hunt brings in little, and our Indians must rely on farming.

Hunting served both the converts and the missionaries within the restraints of

mission rules. Appendix A lists the rules of the Moravian missions as they were adopted by the mission society in the 1740s. Hunting was a major concern of the missionaries in their quest to eliminate problems at the missions. The missionaries, however, did use hunting as part of their subsistence strategy when circumstances demanded it. Such compromise embodies the very essence of the mission community.

The role of sugar-making in mission life also served specific purposes for both the converts and the missionaries and enhanced the relationship between the two groups. Sugar-making took place every year and began and ended in accordance with the weather. The converts spent two to three months away from the mission to produce sugar from the maple trees with very few visits home. Church services were often cancelled and the converts left to their own supervision during this time. The missionaries do not give accounts of what went on at the sugar camps, except for the brief description of the sugar-making process seen earlier. Both the independence of the converts and the trust bestowed upon them by the missionaries gives further proof of the unique relationship these two groups had with one another.

The cancellation of church services, including the Sunday service, is perhaps one of the most significant effects of sugar-making on the mission environment. If sugar-making was going strong, the missionaries would often allow the converts to stay at the camp to get the most production possible. Bad weather, like floods or tremendous snowfall, also caused the cancellation of services by inhibiting travel back to the mission. Again, the missionaries compromise the rules for the benefit of native subsistence strategies, resulting in a successful mission community.

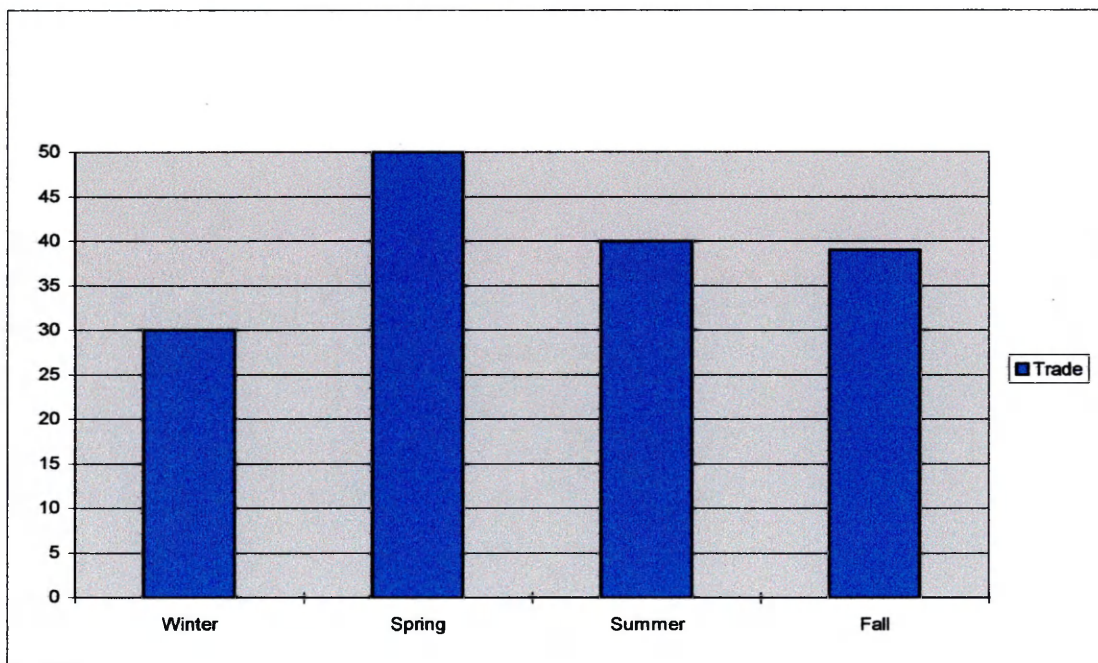
The converts appear to have used this time to test their commitment to the mission as well as relax and revert back to some old traditions. The brief accounts of the sugar camps indicate a carnival atmosphere. It can be argued that this period of release from the mission rules allowed the converts to tolerate and even respect the rules throughout the rest of the year. The mission accounts do not mention problems with the converts during the sugar-making season like they do during hunting expeditions.

The other major economic activity at the mission, in which the missionaries and the converts participated, was trade. Although trade networks are addressed in depth in the next chapter, a brief discussion of the influence of trade on the relationship between the missionaries and the converts provides further proof of the balance achieved in this unique community. Again, the missionaries provide the support and organization, but the converts conduct the actual labor involved in trade.

Many of the trade situations at the missions took place with white settlers, sometimes Moravians, with whom the missionaries had established friendships. Generally, settlers had negative attitudes toward their convert neighbors, but the Moravian missionaries acted as mediators to develop good relations between the two groups. This mediation role made the extensive trade networks possible and ensured the survival of the missions. Furthermore, the missionaries constantly warned the converts to be on their best behavior to avoid alienation of their white neighbors.

The converts produced the goods for trade and conducted the actual act of trade, while watching their own behavior on a daily basis. The dependence on trade, as seen in figure 9, made the cooperation of the converts crucial for the survival of the

FIGURE 9
NUMBER OF TRADE TRANSACTIONS BY SEASON



Source: Compiled from Goshen and Fairfield Journal Data

mission. Trust also played an important role in trade as the missionaries allowed the converts to travel several days journey through Indian Territory to trade at the major cities like Detroit and Charleston. The major problems with trade involved the French and native traders that came to the mission because the converts often reverted back to drunkenness and rowdiness when these groups visited.

29 August 1795 (Fairfield)

Inasmuch as we had last night drinking here in town, caused by strange Indians, who came from Detroit, wherein many of our people were involved, and caused disturbance, we had the brothers and sisters come together,...

The tolerance on the part of the missionaries of both native and settler disturbance during trade demonstrates the necessity of and compromise involved in the trade activity. In addition, such accounts attest to the confidence the missionaries had in the converts to stay the course, despite the influences brought about by these trade encounters. Although the source of conflict at times, both the missionaries and the converts recognized the importance of trade for the survival of the mission and, therefore, tolerated the problems caused by it.

Socially, the missionaries and converts each enacted their own controls over their relationship within the mission setting. The missionaries used the concept of brethren, the rules, and disciplinary methods to keep the converts within the confines of acceptable behavior at the mission. The converts used bouts with drunkenness and rowdiness as well as time away from the mission to stay connected with their culture and voice their opinions. Each group viewed these social constraints in different ways, which led to a social system based on a delicate balance fueled by toleration and understanding.

The use of the word “brethren” to describe the position of the converts in relation to the missionaries gave the impression that the converts were equal to the missionaries in the social setting. The previous chapters, however, show the differences in status between the two groups. The converts were clearly the laborers at the missions, while the missionaries provided religious instruction and stability. This concept of brethren served a different purpose for the converts than it did for the missionaries. The result, nevertheless, brought about a reciprocal relationship as the missionaries viewed the converts as a group to be trusted and nurtured, and the converts viewed the missionaries as people to be trusted and respected.

Moravians identified each other as brothers and sisters within their own community, but to identify Native American converts in the same way meant something different. By calling them brethren, the Moravians were rejecting the common view of native groups during this time period, that of the savage. Whether or not the missionaries truly viewed the converts as brothers and sisters may never be known, but they created an environment in which the converts truly believed they had achieved an equal religious standing with their counselors.

The Delaware must have enjoyed this newfound status among the white missionaries, as they were often eager to convert and join the missions. The position as brethren also gave the converts opportunities to voice their opinions to the missionaries without the fear of rebuke. They often expressed attitudes of disappointment with failed crops and at other times spoke to the missionaries about the misbehavior of whites in the area. The concept of brethren served the converts well in many instances, but in the area of division of labor it allowed them to accept

their role as laborers for the mission not equals with their missionaries.

In the end, the acknowledgement of the converts as brothers and sisters to the missionaries resulted in a delicate balance of equality and inequality, which both groups accepted. The converts received enough independence and stability to realize they were better off at the mission, while the missionaries retained enough control to be confident in this independence. Together, the two groups formed a unique social relationship, in which both appear to have been content enough to continue in such a state.

The rules of the missions, adopted in 1772, began with religious instructions, but focused almost entirely on the social behavior of the converts. Appendix A lists the rules in the order they appeared when they were adopted by the Christian Indians at Languntoutenunk and Welhik-Tuppeek. While certain behaviors were completely prohibited, like witchcraft and heathenish activities, others could take place with the permission of the missionaries or convert-helpers.

The missionaries used the rules to maintain control over the converts' behavior, but the journals indicate many exceptions and great leniency in their enforcement. Drunkards, according to rule five, were not to be tolerated and yet several converts became drunk on a regular basis and remained at the mission with little or no punishment (Mortimer July 31, 1800; April 16, 1811). Rather than immediate dismissal, the missionaries tried to counsel the wayward converts away from prohibited behavior by explaining the reasons for the rule and allowing them chances to redeem themselves. Therefore, the rules served as guidelines for living, not as a means by which the missionaries could eliminate members who caused

problems.

The converts, on the other hand, used the rules as a way to get the attention of the missionaries by breaking certain rules at times of stress or disappointment. It appears that the converts knew which rules could be safely broken without much more than a word of rebuke from the missionaries. Drunkenness, hunting without permission, and “heathenish activities” all took place among the converts at various times on the missions, usually during a food shortage or war (Mortimer 1812). The journals mention only a few people banished from the mission (Mortimer May 5, 1800).

As previously mentioned, discipline at the missions existed more as a threat than an active means of eliminating members. The main form of discipline appears to have been the application of emotional punishments to the converts in the show of disappointment by the missionaries. In addition, converts who consistently broke the rules often experienced tighter restrictions on freedoms such as hunting and travelling. Based on their behavior, it is apparent that the converts viewed the rules and the discipline not only as an attainable lifestyle, but also as a means by which they could communicate their objections to the missionaries.

The treatment of the rules by both the missionaries and the converts further served the reciprocal relationship at the mission by giving each group some control over the other. Neither group had to relinquish control to the other as the missionaries could have dismissed the rule-breakers and the converts did not have to stay at the mission. Both the missionaries and the converts chose to live under this system of mission politics. The missionaries had their converts, despite their flaws, to

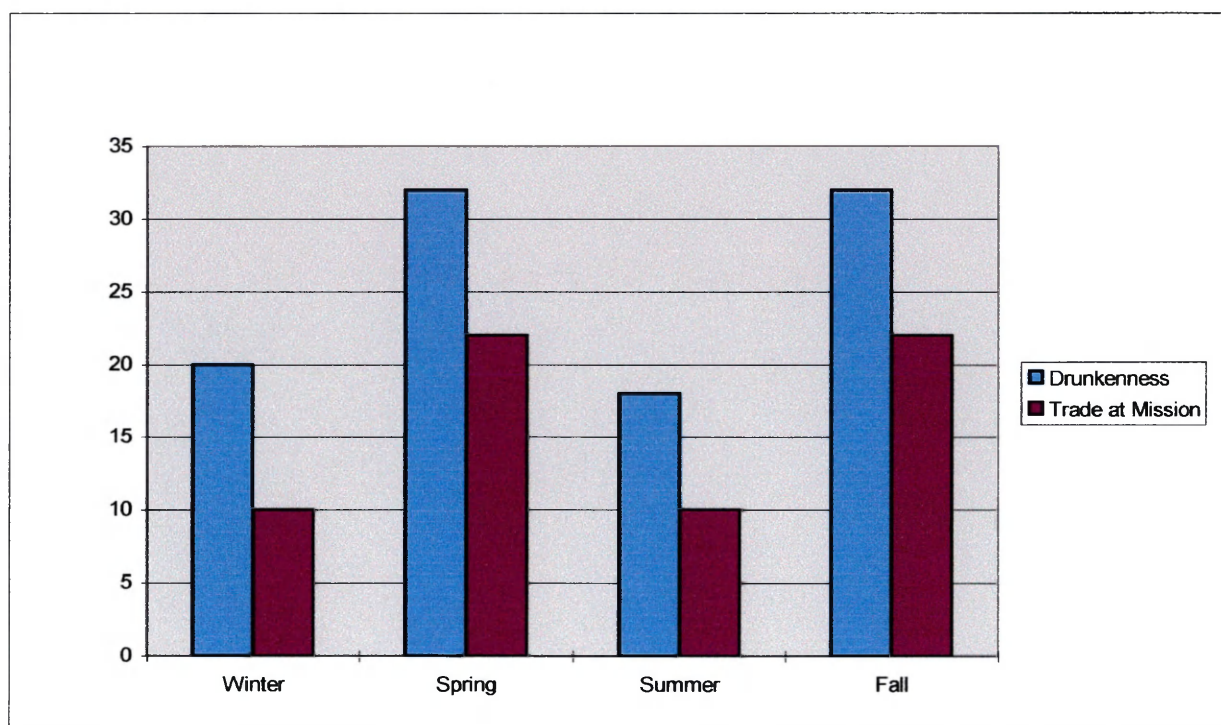
mold and shape in Moravian traditions. They could say they were doing the Lord's work and they were successful in keeping the converts at the mission and living a "better" life for the most part. The converts received stability and protection in a very turbulent time when their native counterparts were experiencing starvation and war. The restrictions placed on them by the missionaries were not necessarily firm and could be manipulated when needed. Such an arrangement served both groups equally within this new mission culture.

Of all the rules, the converts violated the ban on drunkenness more than any other rule. The mission at Goshen appears to have had more incidents surrounding drunken bouts than did Fairfield. The differences may be in the external circumstances influencing each mission during the time periods studied. Goshen appears to have undergone more agricultural and political hardships than the Fairfield mission. The War of 1812 was one of the most trying times for this small group of converts in the Ohio Valley. Nevertheless, both missions had their share of drunkards given the fact that such activity was banned from the mission according to the rules.

Drunkenness usually entered the mission setting and affected the converts when other natives or French traders introduced alcohol to the converts. In addition, neighboring whites also traded whiskey for the sugar and other goods the converts had produced (Figure 10). However, it appears that the converts were better able to resist these temptations at certain times while during others they succumbed quickly to the offer. The best explanation would be the attitude of the converts at the time the alcohol was offered. Often times the converts would become discouraged and distraught at the circumstances at the mission and began to drink whiskey.

FIGURE 10

NUMBER OF DRUNKEN INCIDENTS AND TRADE VISITORS BY SEASON



Source: Compiled from Goshen and Fairfield Journal Data

The results of these drunken encounters were seldom harmful to the participants or others around them. A few accounts cite drinking as the cause of a stabbing or fight, usually between a convert and a native. Very few converts were ever forced to leave the mission as a punishment for their drunkenness, but the missionaries often threatened such consequences if the behavior continued. Drunkenness, in the end, appears to have served as a tool for the converts in their struggle for a balance between restrictions and freedom at the mission.

The delicate balance between missionary control and convert independence at the missions was an intricate part of the community relations. The missionaries acknowledged the converts as brethren, yet they insisted upon maintaining a division of labor in which the converts were the laborers and they were the elite. The system of rules and regulations set up by the Moravians and adopted by the Delaware treated the converts as children in need of supervision, while neighboring Moravian settlements participated in the very activities banned at the missions. Such double standards proved to be sources of contention for the converts and missionaries.

The converts must have viewed their position at the mission as necessary to their survival, since they had other places to live. Mission life, with all its restrictions and labor demands, gave them a sense of community and protection that native living could not offer during this time. Perhaps the similarities of the mission community and subsistence patterns to their own traditions made mission life a feasible option for the Delaware, when other tribes rejected it. Nevertheless, the missionaries and converts formed a tight-knit community in which they not only tolerated one another, but also enjoyed this new culture.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL NETWORKS

Cultural conventions do not have to be true to be effective...[T]hey just have to be accepted.

Richard White, *The Middle Ground*

Social networks, webs of interaction created between different groups for the purpose of economic, social and political benefits, provide a community with the means to survive outside their own ability to produce those things necessary for everyday life (Orser 1996). Social networks can provide opportunities for trade, as well as, physical and emotional support for life in a new and challenging geographic area. Communities search for connections with outside groups to bring additional elements to their subsistence strategies, social interaction, and physical environment. Such connections, however, often bring problems as well as solutions to community situations.

The mission communities at Fairfield and Goshen established social networks with several different groups of people in their areas. All of their relationships served both economic and social functions within the community, as it is difficult to have one without the other. Surrounding native groups, French traders, neighboring white settlements and the respective governments all played a role in the development of mission subsistence patterns and the culture as a whole. Members of all of these

groups visited the mission on a regular basis, as the missions were located on major river routes to the large cities. The establishment of trade relations served as the major reason for mission relationships with these different groups, although when outsiders visited for other reasons, they were never turned away. Even those visitors who caused trouble among the converts were always welcomed back for a second chance. Hospitality was one of the major attributes of the Moravians, which they passed onto the mission culture.

Relations between the native groups and the missions appear to have better served the natives economically. The only items that natives ever brought to trade was wild game, usually deer, and sugar while they received corn and other domestic crops in return.

7 April 1795 (Fairfield)

Chippewas came here to buy corn for sugar

17 August 1795 (Fairfield)

Chippewas brought meat here to sell for corn and other things

The converts desired the wild game during times when their harvest was plentiful and there was no need for them to go hunting and they had plenty to trade. This relationship, however, turned into begging on the part of the natives when game was scarce and the converts had little to give.

22 October 1792 (Fairfield)

...to the Chippewas encamped here, who have nothing to eat, we have corn, etc.

24 January 1797 (Fairfield)

Chippewas came here begging, for whom we got together some corn, namely, the brethren.

4 August 1797 (Fairfield)

Many strange Indians were here on their way down to the settlement, being out of food.

Nevertheless, both groups continued a strong network during the mission period.

Chippewa, Shawnee, Mohawk, Monsey, and Onondaga are the major groups of Native Americans mentioned in the mission accounts for Fairfield and Goshen. More often than not, the missionaries referred to these native visitors as strange Indians in their daily accounts, distinguishing them from the converts of their mission and other missions. In addition to the trade networks created with these groups, the missions also established peaceful political relations with these groups. The missionaries exchanged wampum and promised neutrality in the many wars between the natives and the new white governments, which reflected the Moravians commitment to avoid conflict at all costs.

Socially, native groups made their presence known through casual visits, hunting expeditions, and war.

10 June 1795 (Fairfield)
Strange Indians came here

29 September (Fairfield)
Chippewas and Monseys, some of whom go hunting, others to Detroit, encamped here several days.

1807 (Goshen)
Five strange Indians arrived here today talking about a call to militia for a possible war with the Indians.

The visits often resulted in drunkenness and native traditions like dancing and painting of their faces, during which the missionaries voiced their disapproval, but seldom took action.

27 January 1796 (Fairfield)
Chippewa arrived who had rum with them.

7 February 1797 (Fairfield)
We ordered a Chippewa, who had been carrying on heathenish acts, to cease

doing such things here.

1806 (Goshen)

In the afternoon, strange, drunken Indians from the Wabash made their appearance in our town.

1806 (Goshen)

Considerable number of wild Indians came here from Sandusky with strongly colored faces of red and black.

The presence of these groups both tested the commitment of the converts and kept them in contact with a variety of native traditions. Nevertheless, the missionaries continued to welcome the visiting “strange Indians” to the mission, despite their continued rejection of conversion.

The accounts mention some conflicts arising between the missionaries and the converts as a result of native visits, but the issues often disappeared with the departure of the visiting groups. The missionaries do not specifically address their feelings toward the non-converts, but their constant hospitality and tolerance regarding the visitors shows a clear acceptance in the native role at the mission. In addition, the converts also welcomed the visitors and presented them with the highest level of hospitality, even in times of food shortages.

The major problems with neighboring native groups appear to have occurred during times of native-white conflicts in the Ohio Valley. The Goshen mission, located in the heart of the Ohio Valley, attempted to remain neutral during this time, but both the white settlers and the native tribes insisted that they take a side. The whites interpreted their neutrality as siding with the Indians, while the Indians interpreted their neutrality as support for the settlers. The attitudes of both groups resulted in a situation of increased danger for the Goshen converts, as neither side trusted them.

26 July 1812 (Goshen)

Threat of murder to all Indians here by strange Indians during war.

31 August 1812 (Goshen)

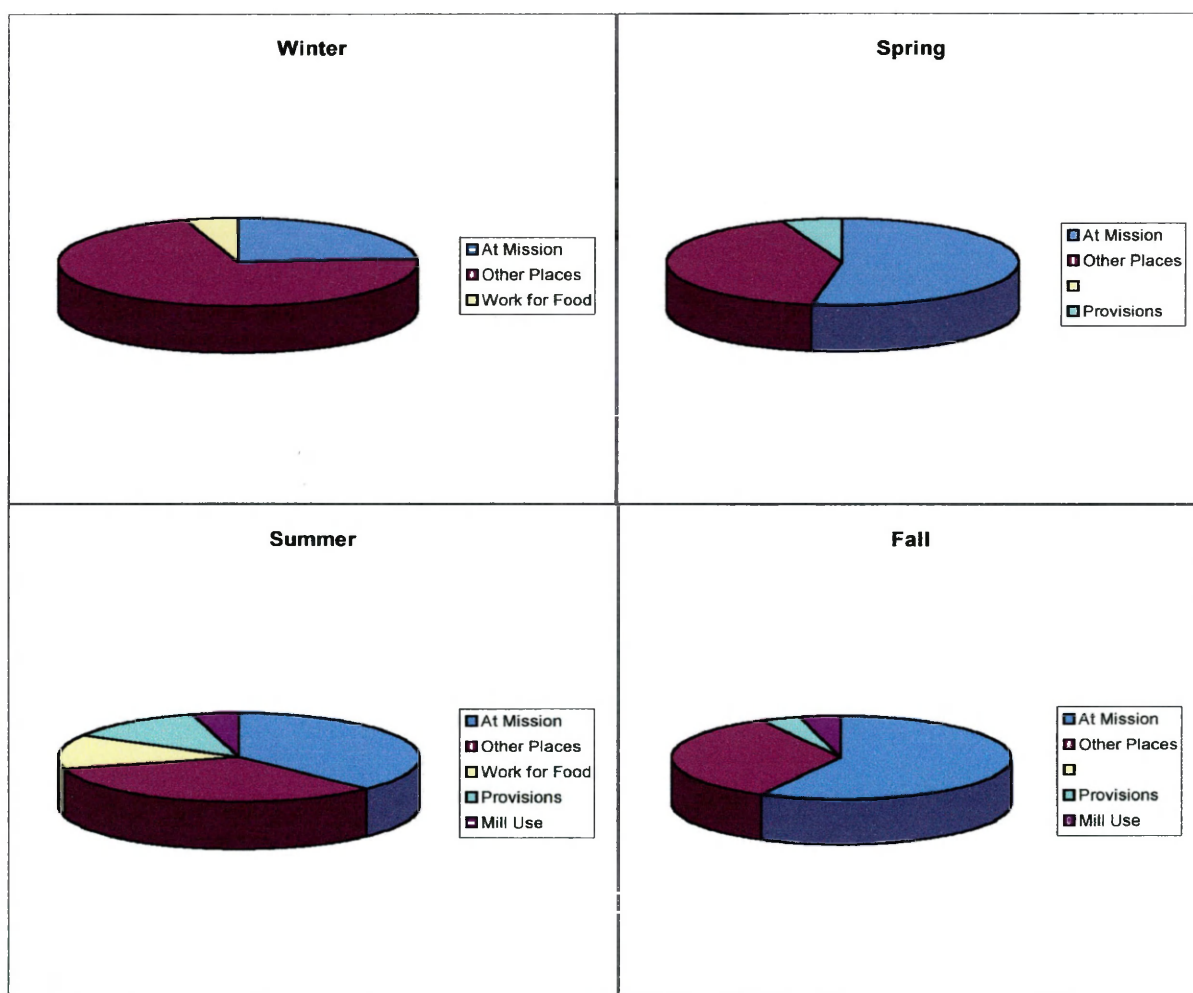
Our Indians instructed not to leave town.

During this time of distrust among the native groups, the missionaries restricted the movement of the converts for their own protection. The mission managed to remain neutral and avoid the disastrous consequences of the war. Ties with the native groups appear to have lasted to the end of the mission in 1820.

Relations with the white settlers surrounding both the Fairfield and Goshen missions existed more on an economic level than a social one. Missionaries worked hard to establish peaceful and profitable relationships with the neighboring white communities, visiting French traders, and the government. Economically, the missions depended upon the white settlers for trade networks, free provisions in times of food shortages, and the use of facilities, such as mills. These networks were born, not only of necessity, but also of opportunity. On a more social level, white settlers often attended religious services at the mission and supported the efforts of the mission. Although sometimes strained by war and hard times, the relationship between the converts and the whites remained constant and allowed the mission to flourish.

Economic relations between the mission and the whites existed on several levels: trade at the mission, trade in the cities, exchange of work for goods, use of facilities, and provisioning (Figure 11). The converts handled all economic exchanges except for the request for provisions, for which the missionaries assumed responsibility. Whether or not the converts requested permission to conduct trade or

FIGURE 11
NUMBER OF TRANSACTIONS OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF TRADE BY
SEASON



Source: Compiled from Goshen and Fairfield Journal Data

the missionaries initiated such relations is not clear. Either way, the converts appeared to be very successful in trading their surplus for necessities.

Trade at the mission is mentioned most often in the accounts, both with the French and local settlers. The accounts indicate that Fairfield received many more white visitors interested in trade than Goshen. The reason for the difference is unclear except for the fact that the social environment in Canada appears to have been more conducive to such activities as the Ohio Valley was in such turmoil. Two neighbors, in particular, conducted most of the trade with the converts, Mr. Dolson and Mr. Parke. According to the accounts, these men brought items such as clothing and hardware and exchanged them for produce, livestock, and animal furs.

10 December 1793 (Fairfield)

Mr. Dolson displayed his goods and the whole town traded buying from him for cattle, corn, and skins.

21 October 1794 (Fairfield)

Mr. Parke came here from Detroit with goods for our Indians.

The missionaries even allowed the converts to buy things on credit from Parke and Dolson, who usually traded in the late fall and winter.

23 October 1794 (Fairfield)

Mr. Parke gave out his goods, for which he takes corn for payment next spring.

Many traders, never named in the accounts, also passed through the missions looking for trading opportunities with the converts and neighboring tribes.

6 March 1798 (Fairfield)

A trader came here from Detroit, who bought corn.

The Goshen converts traded more at the major cities, like Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

and Charleston, Virginia, than on the mission.

4 February 1809 (Goshen)

Seven adults set out from here for the Ohio settlements with 200 baskets for sale.

20 November 1811 (Goshen)

Most Indians went with baskets to Pittsburgh.

Trading away from the mission allowed the converts to attain services and barter differently from the conventional trade relationship. During times of food shortage, the converts often went to the surrounding white settlements to work in exchange for food.

19 February 1794 (Fairfield)

Many of our people went to the settlement to earn food by work.

The converts also used the mills of the neighboring white settlements to grind their wheat and corn.

7 December 1795 (Fairfield)

Bill Henry and others came with wheat and corn they have had ground, from the mill, seven miles from here.

The accounts do not mention that payment was made for services rendered at the mill, as such services may have been considered a mission donation.

Finally, the white settlers provided the missions with provisions, without expectation of goods in return, when the converts first arrived at a new mission or they had a food crisis. The missionaries made these requests and usually received them.

22 September 1812 (Goshen)

Indians could not hunt now so these neighbors assisted with provisions

The white settlers appear to have been more than happy to aid the missions in their subsistence needs during times of crisis. The relationship between these two groups, as witnessed in their economic interaction, carried over to their social relations as well.

The mission converts interacted socially with non-Moravian whites through river traffic, French trade, religious services, local settlements, government visitors, and war. The missions at Fairfield and Goshen attracted visitors of all kinds and emerged as major stops on trips westward. The missionaries and converts welcomed the great variety of people with their famous hospitality and tolerated the many inconveniences and troubles brought by such groups. The only protest to such visits was voiced by the converts at Goshen during the War of 1812 when the militia, who had previously slaughtered Delaware converts at an Ohio mission, insisted on camping at the mission. Such reaction to white visitors, however, was rare at the missions.

River traffic brought the majority of white visitors to the missions, as they were both located on major river-routes westward. Fairfield received those people travelling between Niagara and Detroit, while Goshen saw the travelers seeking Detroit from Pennsylvania and Virginia.

31 January 1794 (Fairfield)

A white man from Niagara passed through here.

3 July 1795 (Fairfield)

White people on their way up the river by water were here over night.

These visitors were given a place to sleep, food to eat, and often spiritual guidance, as they attended the church services while at the mission. According to the records, this

group of visitors did not cause problems like the French traders or the military. Both the missionary and the converts enjoyed these visits.

French traders, on the other hand, often encamped just outside the mission for several months at a time, bringing with them barrels of rum and whiskey.

23 December 1792 (Fairfield)

Frenchmen came here with rum, who stayed over night. They were forbidden to sell any here.

11 October 1794 (Fairfield)

Frenchmen went through with rum, whom a party from here followed and got drunk.

These traders would trade the alcoholic beverages to the converts for their precious sugar, corn, and furs. Despite the supervision of the missionaries and the laws passed by the federal governments, French traders frequently gave the liquor to the converts and took advantage of their lack of judgement. Nevertheless, the missionaries continued to allow them to visit and trade at the mission.

Whites from the neighboring settlements attended the mission services and donated money and goods to the converts. Although the Goshen neighbors expressed doubt in the converts during the War of 1812, the relationship prior to the war was consistent and amicable. The missionaries at both missions sought to secure support and social networks with the surrounding settlements and the settlements responded in kind.

6 July 1793 (Fairfield)

We sent a message of thanks to Quakers in name of Christian Indians for their gift of one hundred dollars.

2 July 1797 (Fairfield)

From the settlement came a number of men and women, with a child to be baptized.

18 June 1809 (Goshen)

A company of white people attended our discourse.

The accounts of the neighbors' visits indicate that the visitors enjoyed the company of the converts as much as that of the missionaries.

The presence government and the military in times of conflict appear to have caused the most problems and insecurities at the mission. Fairfield contended with wars among the native groups as well as conflicts between the whites and the native groups, while Goshen fell right in the middle of white-Indian conflicts and the War of 1812. The wars might not have been such a problem for the converts had they not been present at the massacre of Delaware converts at Gnaddenhutten, Ohio in 1782 by the militia. The mere presence of the militia at the mission brought fear and uncertainty to both the converts and the missionaries. Fairfield did not encounter near as many military groups as Goshen.

22 August 1794 (Fairfield)

General Wayne had broken up at the Miami Fork and marched down the river, and posted himself.

30 April 1812 (Goshen)

...The militia as blood thirsty murderers as seen by the Indians.

Mission-white relations at both Goshen and Fairfield benefited all parties and established unique social networks between Indians and settlers. The community balance achieved between the missionaries and the converts carried over to the external social relations at the mission. The key to the success of the missions in establishing social networks was acceptance, acceptance of different cultures and different attitudes in order to facilitate the creation of new social bonds. Exclusion was not part of the mission vocabulary because survival and tradition took precedence over disapproval and fear.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

...I found that no sharp distinctions between Indian and white worlds could be drawn.

Richard White, *The Middle Ground*

The mission documents tell a story of European-Native American cooperation and the formation of a new culture. The missionaries discuss subsistence strategies, physical environment, community relations, and social networks as they relate to both the converts and themselves. This discussion of daily activities and relationships allow for an analysis of the mission culture and the influences on the development of that culture. The importance of these documents, however, is not limited to the development of subsistence strategies and mission culture, as they contain a wealth of other information about spiritual and social life at the mission.

The process of cultural formation consists of the interaction between the physical environment and the social networks of any given group. In the case of the mission culture, two separate cultures with their own traditions joined together to survive a new and difficult environment. The daily journals of the missionaries provide insight into the way this new culture developed and flourished for over 150 years. According to the documents, the Moravian missions at Fairfield and Goshen formed a new mission culture through the incorporation of Delaware traditions,

Moravian traditions, and elements of the physical and social environments in which the missions existed.

The mission cultures at Goshen and Fairfield emerged, not as mirror images of the Moravian culture, but as a delicate balance of Delaware and Moravian culture. This balance existed both in the subsistence strategies and the community relations of the mission, as the two groups sought the most successful economic plan. Socially, the converts accepted their position as brethren to the missionaries with great zeal, while the missionaries afforded them a certain level of independence. Together, they formed the mission community, in which Europeans and Native Americans could live successfully.

The inequality between the missionaries and converts, as exhibited in the division of labor, did not prevent the adoption of Delaware traditions. The missionaries, once faced with the failure of crops and the harsh physical environment, eagerly pursued the suggestions of the converts and permitted the use of native activities, such as hunting and gathering. Furthermore, the tolerance of non-converts around the mission allowed for greater success through trade and social networks.

Rule and regulations at the mission posed the biggest threat to good relations between the missionaries and the converts, but a reciprocal system of social interaction gave both groups control over tense situations and served to ensure cooperation on both sides. A culture dominated by either Moravian or Delaware traditions would not have allowed this balance of power, as one group would have been forced into the ways of the other. The mission culture, however, blended the two cultures in such a way that neither group felt threatened enough by the

compromise to leave the mission setting. The missionaries did not dwell on the development of a “pure” environment for the converts, but rather taught the converts how to deal with challenges to their faith and resist the temptations brought on by contact with outside parties, such as non-converts and French traders.

The physical environment of the Fairfield mission and the Goshen mission played an important role in the development of subsistence strategies for the missions. Without the problems caused by weather, insects, and geography, the Moravians would not have had a reason to incorporate native strategies, like hunting and gathering, into their economic strategy. In addition, the abundance of wild resources at the mission provided an undeniable opportunity for solving the agricultural problem and enhancing their economic standing.

Sugar production, in particular, provided the mission with a profit and played a major role in the development of trade networks, as the maple trees ran stronger at Fairfield and Goshen than any the converts had ever witnessed. Such success gave the converts an opportunity to use their traditional practices and exert their independence from the mission for a few months out of the year. The sugar industry at the mission represents one of the strongest influences of the environment on subsistence activities as the mere availability of the product greatly altered the strategy of the mission. In the same way, the availability of furs influenced the trade, while the availability of wild game and fish lessened the hardship of food shortages.

The change in weather and growing seasons possible caused the most trouble for the agricultural plans of the missionaries forcing them to rely on the food sources of the converts. In the end, the missionaries continued to push the importance of

farming on the converts, but were not so focused on agriculture that they overlooked the benefits of alternative means of subsistence. Had they been faced with a favorable agricultural environment, the missionaries may not have allowed the converts such freedoms, thereby jeopardizing the success of the missions.

The social relations that were maintained by the mission with the surrounding native groups, white settlers, and traders also demanded compromise on the part of the missionaries and converts. Both groups exhibited a high level of tolerance to interference brought about by constant outside contact. The regular contact with other social groups forced the missionaries to adapt their mission rules to their circumstances. Drunkenness, heathenish activities, and unauthorized trade all took place on regular occasions with continued interaction with those who participated and even encouraged such activities.

Social networks helped the missions to develop into strong, successful trading partners, while supporting the formation of the new mission culture. The visits by surrounding native tribes tested the faith of the converts and the patience of the missionaries, which further encouraged the adaptation of the two groups to one another. The presence of European-Indian conflicts outside the mission, instead of destroying the missionary-convert relationship, drove the two groups closer together. Without the trials of outside influences, the mission culture might not have developed such a strong sense of acceptance and compromise.

The two missions used in the study, Goshen and Fairfield experienced very similar influences on their developing culture, but Goshen underwent more severe hardships in both their social and economic relationships. Being in the center of a

major American war as well as European-Indian conflicts, Goshen converts experienced greater fear of outside influences, which affected trade as well as the relationship between the converts and the missionaries. Differences in the degree of outside influences did not greatly affect the similar development of the two missions, as both managed to achieve a high level of acceptance and compromise.

The major difference in subsistence strategies between the two missions exists in the area of trade networks. Fairfield appears to have developed a more elaborate, successful trade relationship with both the natives and whites by making more contacts and being more tolerant of the related problems. The missionaries for both missions were David Zeisberger and Benjamin Mortimer and the converts for Goshen came from Fairfield. The differences, therefore, must stem from the more turbulent social environment and perhaps the additional losses of crops, which depleted the surpluses available for trade.

The distrust of the Goshen converts during times of conflict must have hindered their attempts at establishing secure trade networks. Although they did nothing to bring on such distrust, the converts suffered from such treatment, as did the missionaries. The treatment of missions on American soil differed from that of the Canadian missions in that the military did not continuously intimidate and demand cooperation of the Fairfield converts. In addition, the Fairfield mission stayed relatively in the same place for over 100 years, while the Goshen converts were forced to move after only 20 years of occupation due to westward expansion. The permanence of the Fairfield converts aided in their ability to build strong social networks, a luxury the Goshen converts never experienced.

The unexpected influences of the physical and social environment at the Goshen and Fairfield missions forced the Moravian missionaries to alter both their economic and social plans for the missions, evident in the few differences between Goshen and Fairfield. The Moravian community at Bethlehem, as discussed earlier, succeeded in their establishment of an agricultural subsistence and served as the ideal society. The missions did not even come close to the original self-sufficiency of Bethlehem. Trade, not a goal of the Moravian plan, turned out to be a major component of mission subsistence and social relations.

Mission converts adapted well to the changes in the mission strategies and, therefore took advantage of the changes. The element of control exercised by the converts came from the need for the missionaries to tolerate rule violations and accept native ideas for basic survival. The influences of the physical and social environment opened the door for cultural development, but the perseverance of the Delaware converts and the willingness of the missionaries to accept new ideas created the mission culture.

The diaries of all the Moravian missions to the North American Indians exist as originals at the Moravian Church Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania and on microfiche at several universities and public libraries. Details of mission life are abundant in these records and open the unique mission relationship to all avenues of study. In the field of anthropology, the mission documents give researchers insight into one of the few favorable European-Native American experiences in American history. The introduction of written language to the Delaware converts by the missionaries serves as one of the other major avenues of study. The use of hymnals

and Bibles in the Delaware language provided the first opportunity for these converts to experience written language. Schools for the Delaware children focused on teaching reading and writing of Delaware as well as English and German. Such major changes in thought processes must have had a profound influence on the behavior of the converts.

Moravian missions serve as a symbol of cooperation and acceptance between Europeans and Native Americans in an era known for its turmoil and strife among these groups. Many elements contributed toward the spirit of cooperation that emerged in the mission culture including the past cultures of the two groups and the surrounding cultures of the mission. Cultures do not develop and exist in isolation, as seen in the Moravian missions, but rather feed on the outside influences of their physical and social environments. In the end, the mission culture exhibited elements of all the experiences it had endured.

APPENDIX A

STATUTES AGREED UPON BY THE CHRISTIAN INDIANS AT
LANGUNTOUTENUNK AND WELHIK-TUPPEEK IN THE MONTH OF
AUGUST 1772

We will know no other god but the one true God, who made us and all creatures, and came into this work in order to save sinners; to Him alone we will pray.

We will rest from work on the Lord's day, and attend public service.

We will honor father and mother, and when they grow old and needy we will do for them what we can.

No person will get leave to dwell with us until our teachers have given their consent, and the helpers (native assistants) have examined him.

We will have nothing to do with thieves, murderers, whoremongers, adulterers, or drunkards.

We will not take part in dances, sacrifices, heathenish festivals, or games.

We will use no tshapiet, or witchcraft, when hunting.

We renounce and abhor all tricks, lies, and deceits of Satan.

We will be obedient to our teachers and to the helpers who are appointed to preserve order in our meetings in the towns and fields.

We will not be idle, nor scold, nor beat one another, nor tell lies.

Whoever injures the property of his neighbor shall make restitution.

A man shall have but one wife – shall love her and provide for her and his children. A woman shall have but one husband, be obedient to him, care for her children, and be cleanly in all things.

We will not admit rum or any other intoxicating liquor into our town. If strangers or traders bring intoxicating liquor, the helpers shall take it from them and not restore it until the owners are ready to leave the place.

No one shall contract debts with traders, or receive goods to sell for traders, unless the helpers give their consent.

Whoever goes hunting, or on a journey, shall inform the minister or stewards.

Young persons shall not marry without the consent of their parents and the minister.

Whenever the stewards or helpers appoint a time to make fences or to perform other work for the public good, we will assist and do as we are bid.

Whenever corn is needed to entertain strangers, or sugar for love-feast, we will contribute from our stores.

We will not go to war, and will not buy anything of warriors taken in war.

Source: Olmstead, Blackcoats among the Delaware, 246-47.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Batchelor, Nancy Kostrub

- 1976 *Salisbury Farm National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. Ms. On file, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Resister Branch, Washington, D.C.

Becker, Marshall J.

- 1990 The Origins of Trade silver Among the Lenape: Pewter Objects From Southeastern Pennsylvania as Possible Precursors. *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 19:78-98.

Black burn, Julia

- 1979 *The White Men: the first response of aboriginal peples to the white Man*. New York: Time Books.

Connolly, Bob and Robin Anderson

- 1987 *First Contact*. New York: Viking.

Cronon, William

- 1983 *Changes in the Land*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Cross, Dorothy

- 1956 *Archaeology of New Jersey: The Abbott Farm: Volume II*. Trenton: The Archeological Society of New Jersey and the New Jersey State Museum.

Custer, Jay F.

- 1996 *The Prehistoric Cultures of Eastern Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

Fliegel, Rev. Carl John.

- 1970 *Index to the Moravian Records of the Moravian Missions among the Indians of North America*. 4 vols. Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. New Haven: Research Publication.

Goddard, Ives.

- 1978 "Delaware." In *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger, 15:213-39. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Gollin, Gillian Lindt

- 1967 *Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities*.
New York: Columbia University Press.

Gray, Elma E. and Leslie Robb

- 1956 *Wilderness Christians: The Moravian Mission to the Delaware Indians*. New York: Russell and Russell.

Goddard, R. H. Ives

- 1978 Delaware. In *Northeast*, edited by Bruce G. Trigger, pp. 70-77.
Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 15, William C.
Sturtevant, general editor. Washington D.C. Smithsonian
Institution.

Grumet, Robert S.

- 1995 *Historic Contact: Indian People and Colonists in today's northeastern United States in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries*. Norman
And London: University of Oklahoma Press.

Habermas, Jurgen

- 1968 *Knowledge and Human Interests*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Heckewelder, John

- 1971 *History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States*. 1876. Reprint.
New York: Arno Press.

Hunter, William A.

- 1978 Documented Subdivisions of the Delaware. Bulletin of the
Archaeological Society of New Jersey 35:20-40.

Kraft, Herbert C.

- 1970 The Miller Field Site, Warren County, New Jersey. In *Archaeology In the Upper Delaware Valley: A Study of the Cultural Chronology of the Tocks Island Reservoir*, edited by W. Fred Knisley III, pp. 1-54.
Anthropological Series 2, Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and
Musdeum Commision.
- 1974 Indian Prehistory of New Jersey. In *A Delaware Symposium*.
Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Anthropological
Series No. 4, Edited by H. C. Craft, pp. 1-56. Harrisburg.
- 1978 *The Minisink Site*. Seton Hall University Museum, South Orange, New
Jersey.
- 1986a *The Lenape: Archaeology, History, and Ethnography*. New Jersey
Historical Society, Newark.

- 1986b Late Woodland Settlement Patterns in the Upper Delaware Valley. In *Late Woodland Cultures of the Middle Atlantic Region*, edited by J. F. Custer, pp. 102-115. University of Delaware Press, Newark.
- Levi-Strauss, C.
1963 *Structural Anthropology*. Basic Books, New York.
- Lindestrom, Peter
1925 [1691] *Geographia Americae with an Account of the Delaware Indians Based on Surveys and Notes Made in 1654-1656*. Edited by Amandus Johnson. Philadelphia: The Swedish Colonial Society.
- Linton, Ralph
1940 *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company
- Loskiel, George Henry
1974 *History of the Missions of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America*. Translated by Christian Latrobe. London: Burlingtonhouse.
- Lukacs, Georg
1970 *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics*. Translated by Rodney Livingstone Cambridge: MIT Press.
- McCarthy, Thomas A.
1978 *The Critical Theory of Jurgen Habermas*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Mortimer, Benjamin
1971 *Diary of Benjamin Mortimer*. Bethlehem, PA: Moravian Archives.
- Myers, Albert Cook
1970 *William Penn's Own Account of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians*. Wilmington, Delaware: Middle Atlantic Press.
- Newcomb, William W. Jr.
1956 *The Culture and Acculturation of the Delaware Indians*. University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology, Anthropological Paper 10.
- Naylor, Larry
1995 *Culture and Change: an introduction*. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

Olmstead, Earl P.

- 1991 *Blackcoats among the Delaware: David Zeisberger on the Ohio Frontier*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press.
- 1997 *David Zeisberger: A Life among the Indians*. Kent, Ohio: Kent University Press.

Orser Jr, Charles E.

- 1996 *A Historical Archaeology of the Modern World*. Plenum: New York.

Padilla, Amado M.

- 1980 *Acculturation, theory, models, and some new findings*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Pinsky, Valerie and Alison Wylie (editors)

- 1989 *Critical traditions in contemporary archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Spriggs, Matthew (editor)

- 1984 *Marxist Perspectives in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stewart, R. M.

- 1982 *The Late Woodland of the Abbott Farm*. Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology, Harrisburg.

Wallace, Paul A.

- 1961 *Indians of Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.
- 1958 *Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Weslager, C. A.

- 1978 *The Delaware Indian Westward Migration*. Wallingsford, Pa: Middle Atlantic Press.
- 1972 *The Delaware Indians: A History*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

White, Richard

- 1992 *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Witthoft, J.

- 1949 *Green Corn Ceremonialism in the Eastern Woodlands*, Occasional Contributions from the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan No. 13. Ann Arbor.

Yarnell, R. A.

- 1976 Early Plant Husbandry in Eastern North America. In *Culture Change and Continuity: Essays in Honor of James Bennett Griffin*, edited by C. E. Cleland, pp. 265-273. New York: Academic Press.

Zeisberger, David

- 1973 *Diary of David Zeisberger*. Bethlehem, PA: Moravian Archives.

VITA

Jessica Ann Maul

Born in Reading, Pennsylvania, May 18, 1975. Graduated from Shenendehowa High School in Clifton Park, New York, June 1993, B.A., State University of New York at Albany, 1996, M.A. student in the Department of History, State University of New York at Albany, 1997-1998, with a concentration in American History. The requirements for this degree only partially fulfilled.

Worked in the field of cultural resource management as an archaeologist and field supervisor, 1997-1999.

In September 1999, the author entered the College of William and Mary as a graduate assistant in the Department of Anthropology.